EVEL ONE

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Edited by the Rev. ARTHUR C. HEADLAM, D.D., Professor of Dogmatic Theology, King's College, London.

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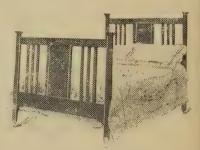
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CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

No. CLI. APRIL 1913.

ART. I.—FOUNDATIONS.

Foundations: A Statement of Christian Belief in Terms of Modern Thought. By Seven Oxford Men: B. H. Streeter, R. Brook, W. H. Moberly, R. G. Parsons, A. E. J. Rawlinson, N. S. Talbot, W. Temple. (London: Macmillan and Co., Limited. 1912.)

It has always been a characteristic of Oxford theology that from time to time it has produced writings which have appealed to and interested a circle wider than that of the professional theologian. We have not, as a rule, been indebted to it for works of the same solid character as the greatest productions of the sister University. We have no Westcott and Hort, we have nothing to rival Lightfoot's Apostolic Fathers. But what Oxford has given us has not only been more widely read, but has in some cases marked a distinct epoch in the religious thought of the country— Tracts for the Times, Essays and Reviews, Lux Mundi are stages in the development at any rate of Anglican theology. When Cambridge has made a similar attempt it has failed to interest, for Cambridge men are somewhat timid of writing on anything which they have not fully thought out, and their books generally finish where we want them to begin. Oxford men are not afraid of letting us see their minds in the process of formation: they are trying to answer the questions with which we are troubled, they are busied with the problems with which we are perplexed, and they are ready to help us a little way along the road even although they do not yet know what will be the end of the

journey. When Newman began the *Tracts for the Times* he had little idea that he would end as a Cardinal in the Roman Church, nor did Jowett realize the significance of his nascent scepticism.

'Foundations' has all the characteristics of the Oxford work. It has already aroused considerable interest. It is written by men who are keenly alive to many of the questions which are troubling thoughtful minds. The problems indeed of science are not very real to them; but they are fully conversant with all the movements of historical criticism and of philosophy. They make no pretence to have arrived at finality on any point. They plead that they are at the adventurous age. It is for them to make experiments on behalf of the Church. They would have their conclusions considered as tentative only: they write with the modesty and courage of youth.

'In every department of thought advance is only made when men will make experiments and put forward suggestions, some of which after due consideration may win their way to acceptance while others will be rejected. In theology this task must always be the special duty of the younger generation. The men whose position in the Church is such that they cannot speak at all except with authority can rarely venture on experiments outside the sphere of practice. It is otherwise with us: We fully recognise the obligations of loyalty to the traditions of the Church to which we belong, we make no claim to irresponsibility; but we are young men, and our responsibility is of a different kind. It is the responsibility of making experiments.' 1

There is a special interest attaching to this volume. Its writers are seven Oxford men, and of the seven names three are intimately associated with the history of Oxford thought. To Oxford men at any rate it is a pleasing fact that we are reminded of the kindly critic and friend of the Tractarians, of the thoughtful writer in Lux Mundi, the author of Atonement and Personality by the name of Moberly—a third generation of a family remarkable for its loyal

English Churchmanship; that we recall the vigorous writer in Essays and Reviews and a great ecclesiastical personality in the name of Temple, and that a party of friends have been again strengthened by the sympathetic friendship of a Talbot. Mr. Brook, Mr. Streeter, Mr. Rawlinson, and Mr. Parsons do not bear such well-known names, but they have already won for themselves places in Oxford, and Mr. Streeter has shewn considerable originality as a critic.

The contents may shortly be summarized. Mr. Talbot begins by sketching the modern situation. The air has been cleared by the progress of thought. It is no longer found to be easy to remain lodging in a half-way house. An older generation thought it might give up Christianity and retain Christian morality, might doubt the Divinity of Christ and be content with a conventional theism, that society might remain respectable and gain by education what it failed to acquire by religion. Now we find that it is not so. 'The assumptions of Mid-Victorian liberalism have been going bankrupt. Their capital has been running out. Even their last survivor, Progress, has been at grips with a doubt deeper than itself as to man's place in the universe.' 1 Morality is as doubtful as religion. Our emancipation has left us in a helpless condition. We do not know where to turn. Ethics, morality, science, philosophy give us little help. The world needs, it is already beginning to want, Christianity again. Only let men be clear that its teaching is true and they will eagerly come to it. The time has come for a clear re-statement, in language which people can understand, of the essential truths of religion, cleared of oldfashioned accretions. 'To-day the light begins to shine anew, as men begin again to know the need of it.' 2

Mr. Talbot's style might be perhaps a little chastened. He tells us, for example, that his essay 'has staggered with difficulty to its goal, for on the way it has found itself entangled in the hazards which attend upon generalization.' But his essay forms a vigorous and suitable introduction to the volume.

Mr. Brook writes on The Bible and his study will demand

¹ P. 7.

² P. 24.

3

careful consideration. The Person of Christ occupies three essays. Mr. Streeter writes on The Historic Christ, Mr. Rawlinson and Mr. Parsons on The Interpretation of the Christ in the New Testament, Mr. Temple on The Divinity of Christ. Mr. Moberly, as is fitting, deals with The Atonement. Two essays are concerned with questions connected with The Church—that is the title of a second contribution from Mr. Temple, whilst Mr. Rawlinson writes on The Principle of Authority. Mr. Moberly concludes the work with an essay on God and the Absolute.

A final apologue reminds us of the earnest faith and ardent practical aims of the writers. Just as a new era seems to have dawned in Germany, where we are told that Schweitzer is preparing for the Mission Field, so we are reminded here of the wide outlook of the present day, of the great cosmopolitan movement which is stirring the young men of our Universities.

'And indeed the hour is come; already the armies are arrayed; the battle is begun. For all the world is in transformation. Europe and America seethe with social movement; India toils in the birth-pangs of an unknown future; Japan has leapt to the van of civilisation; China is awake from age-long sleep and plunging into new life. Even the Dark Continent is astir as Mohammedanism surges across it. Now is the opportunity and the test of faith; and even now in the vision of faith the Captain of the Armies of Salvation goes forth conquering and to conquer.' ¹

Ι

The first essay that demands careful examination is that of Mr. Brook on *The Bible*. Mr. Brook starts by pointing out the difficulties experienced by the 'plain man' in relation to the Bible at the present day. The old claims cannot be maintained. The Bible is clearly no longer infallible. Has it, then, any religious value or authority at all? It is characteristic of the work before us that the difficulties likely to be experienced are thoroughly realized. There is no

failing of comprehension, no attempt to minimize. But in Mr. Brook's zeal to recognize the difficulties of the 'plain' modern man, is he not unfair to the old-fashioned orthodoxy, whatever limitations it may have had? Is not the following somewhat exaggerated?—

'They are not, as men had almost come to think, like the dolls of a ventriloquist, or like children repeating from memory a lesson they have learned but not understood, quoting catchwords and phrases which are not a part of themselves . . . but they are living men.' 1

Surely this is a parody. No doubt our fathers used the Bible in a different way from what we do, but they were intensely interested in the personal character of the religious experiences that it recorded; it was for them a manual of devotion as well as a source of doctrinal knowledge; and they held up its writers to our admiration. Again, we are told in a somewhat oracular way, 'Religion is not the mere assent of the intellect . . . not the mere belief.' Who, as a matter of fact, ever thought it was, except some undeveloped Oxford undergraduate? Mr. Brook does too much tilting at windmills. We were all of us taught our religion in a very different way from this, and, as we shall see, Mr. Brook exaggerates his own point of view as much as he exaggerates the old-fashioned orthodoxy.

To meet these difficulties we require a statement of where the real strength of the Bible lies. 'What is needed, then, and what this essay attempts to give, is a straightforward statement which, taking accepted critical conclusions for granted, will make it clear what the Bible really is.' And this is the answer: The Bible 'is a living and vitalising record of religious experience: its writers were "religious men." Here is where its power lies; 'its real value lay... in the irresistible appeal of the writers to the heart and conscience, and in the power of their faith in God to uplift men's thoughts and words and deeds, always and everywhere.' The character of this religious experi-

¹ P. 30. ² P. 53. ³ P. 30. ⁴ P. 26. ⁵ P. 32.

ence is fully analyzed; its origin is ascribed to a Divine revelation.¹ 'The Bible is for religion what the great masters are for art.' ² It is 'the classical and normative expression of the religious life.' ³

Now all this is, so far as it goes, excellent, but it is not really a complete account of the Bible, even after modern criticism has done its work, and we very soon begin to find its limitations. Mr. Brook makes a great deal of the distinction between Religion and Theology, and would have us believe that we are not to go to the Bible for theology at all. 'In the first place, it must be stated that it is for religion, and not necessarily for theology, that we go to the Bible . . . it will be clear that the religious value of the Bible is not determined by the adequacy or inadequacy of its theology.' 4 This will certainly appear to many people somewhat startling; but Mr. Brook is not alone in thinking and talking like this. It represents a very general modern attitude. Anything in the nature of theology is supposed to be irrational. The use of the Bible to 'prove' things has seemed so often erroneous. We are told now that the Bible does not give us any foundations for proving intellectual concepts,' that we cannot prove any propositions by it. It will never take us further than this-that certain people had certain experiences.

Now, of course it is up to a certain point of great value to emphasize this fact. It may be important in relation to some who have lost their sense of the religious beauty of the Bible through the conventional way in which they have been taught it. It is of great importance to be able to bring home to those who have not realized it the wide-reaching influence and universal character of what are called 'religious phenomena.' The facts (however we may explain them) of religious life are real; they demand their study; they exercise a profound influence on life; they are often productive of great good; they may be a cause of immense pleasure. Religious experience is depicted at its best in the Bible, and it is good to emphasize that fact. But all this does not take us very far. Supposing our friend were an

¹ P. 55. ² P. 64. ³ P. 66. ⁴ P. 68.

earnest inquirer after truth and came to us for help, this would take him a very little way along the road. We can well imagine someone saying to us, 'We recognize the truth of all you tell us. We have long ceased to be troubled by the old-fashioned difficulties you have mentioned. We recognize to the full the value and beauty of the experiences recorded in the Bible. The life of a saint, his religious aspirations are certainly very attractive, or—shall we say? are very attractive to those to whom they are attractive. All this experience is very satisfying to those whom it satisfies. But there are many other sorts of experience. and they all satisfy and attract some people. The religious fanaticism of the Mohammedan is a very real experience, and so is that of the Indian fakir. Both are more intense and perhaps more satisfying to the devotees than anything recorded in the Bible. There is the experience of the man of pleasure, of the artist, of the musician. Where does the paramount claim of the Bible come in? You lay great stress on the analogy with art. But religion makes very different claims from those which art does. You do not help me. The essence of religion must be that it is true. That is what I want to know, and there you give me no assistance. You tell me that the history, and the stories, and the theology of the Bible are not true. You have then taken away all its real value. What does it witness to but the vain aspirations of some religious devotees?'

Now, in the first place, either Mr. Brook uses 'experience' in a very unusual sense or else he forgets how large a part of the experience he describes depends on a theology, i.e. on a reasoned intellectual belief, and a theology which the writers are convinced is true. 'Their lives were inspired by an intense faith in God and dominated by a sense of His presence, His holiness and His love.' And not only do they believe it, they hold it as a creed to communicate to others. They would not have their experience unless they had their faith, and the purpose with which they have written is that others likewise may have faith. We cannot divorce the value of the Bible from the value of its theology.

And then, secondly, Mr. Brook forgets that the Bible records the religious experience, that is the religious history, of a race. His own theory entirely fails to ascribe any value at all to large portions of the Old Testament, and he is very unreasonably scornful of the Church of England because it values the Bible as a whole.

'It is not suggested that all the Biblical writers were equally inspired, or that inspiration is limited to them. Precisely the opposite is meant. The view that all the canonical books have the same religious value—though it seems to underlie the Anglican Lectionary—is as untenable as the old mechanical theory of verbal inspiration, and no one really holds it.' ¹

Mr. Brook's criticism is both foolish and unfair. The Anglican Lectionary provides for reading at the daily service as much of the Bible as it can because it is based on the belief that the whole Bible is the record of God's dealings with mankind through the history of a chosen race; because a complete study is more intelligent and rational than the arbitrary selection of special passages which appeal to the idiosyncrasies of a particular age or person, and because it is just in the objective character of this history that its cogency lies. It is quite true that criticism has taught us to rearrange that history, but its unique character still remains, and it will be found that there lies the answer to the difficulties we have raised.

Coincidentally almost with the publication of Foundations there appeared a very remarkable book by a Canadian theologian entitled The People of God.² The first volume of this work is devoted to tracing the objective character of the evidence offered by the Old Testament for the belief in God. The critic has a fuller and more complete grasp of the result of criticism than Mr. Brook and realizes perhaps more completely the change that it has produced, but he shews

¹ P. 69.

² The People of God: An Enquiry into Christian Origins. By H. F. Hamilton, D.D., formerly Professor of Pastoral Theology in the University of Bishop's College, Lennoxville, Canada (Oxford University Press).

how the Bible still bears witness to the reality of the revelation of God-that its value is not merely the subjective experience of its writers, but the objective truths in theology to which they bear witness. He starts, as Mr. Brook does, with the fact of experience, but he goes on to build up on that basis, by an argument which is historical and we believe of real cogency, its objective truth.

'When we recall how, as a result of the continuation of these experiences in Israel for generation after generation. the whole nation was at last brought round to the beliefs of the mono-Yahwists, and its whole outward system reconstructed with a view to expressing and maintaining the truth that there is but one Holy God and that Israel is His people; and how at length this monotheistic religion, under the influence of the greatest Figure in man's religious history, gave birth to a new society which claimed to be heir to all the privileges of the old, and yet was freed from all its national limitations and imperfections; and how that new society is with us still as a vital force; we must feel that there is good reason to think that the ancient religion of the Hebrews was chosen to be the matrix of a divinely authorized system of religion which should include all the world of mankind within its fold in one universal self-conscious brotherhood.' 1

This argument is further supported by a chapter which restates and brings out the value of the Messianic expectation, but the extract we have given will serve to shew the character of Dr. Hamilton's work. His theme is really the same as Mr. Brook's. He starts with the same difficulties. He is faced with the same problem. But Mr. Brook never succeeds in constructing an argument of any cogency; he contents himself with describing the 'experience' of the Bible, he fails to see that that experience is dependent upon a theology, and he does not give us any means of determining why or under what conditions or with what limitations that theology is true. Yet unless he can do that he does not make the Bible a 'foundation' of our belief.

¹ The People of God, vol. I., p. xxxii.

II

There are three essays on the Person of Christ. The first, by Mr. Streeter on The Historic Christ, is the one that has aroused the largest amount of discussion. It is written with the best intentions, but it is probably the least satisfactory in the volume. It is permeated by modern theories of the Eschatological interpretation of the Gospel. recognize to the full the importance of taking account of all forms of speculation and of not ignoring any theory that may be presented; but do we really believe that 'the latest from Germany' is to such an extent a final embodiment of truth that we ought to reconstruct our Christian faith in harmony with it? Had Mr. Streeter written ten years ago we should have had nothing of this. He would then have based his essay on Harnack's reconstruction of the teaching of Christ in terms of academic ethics. Had he written thirty years ago we should have had a reconstruction in terms of Ebionitism and Paulinism. But Harnack has told us that Baur's theories are impossible, and Schweitzer would sweep Harnack and Renan and Strauss and Baur into the same limbo of obsolete speculations. And when we have reconstructed our views and altered our conceptions of Christianity and the Historic Christ in order to suit Schweitzer's brilliant but wild imaginings, we shall find a new theory arising to prove that Eschatology is quite wrong. Our experience of the history of New Testament criticism suggests to us that there is no reason for capitulating without terms of surrender to the most recent speculation, and we should have been glad if Mr. Streeter would ask himself whether this theory really explains all that the Gospel teaches.

Mr. Streeter starts by accepting the very crude view of our Lord's human knowledge put forward by the present Bishop of Oxford in *Lux Mundi*. Those acquainted with modern speculation are aware that much has been written about the limits and character of our Lord's human consciousness, and in particular as to the nature of His consciousness as Messiah. All such speculation is most

hazardous and futile. Have we really any means of discovering what that consciousness was? Even of the ordinary human consciousness we know little enough. Do we find it at all easy to know what anyone really thinks? To speculate as to how and in what way the Divine consciousness of Jesus worked, to lay down the limits of His knowledge as a man, and the extent of His insight into the ultimate purpose and end of His mission, is an even more hazardous undertaking. It is wiser to examine and analyze what His teaching actually was. What did He teach? How did He teach it? One fact stands out clearly and definitely. He taught always in the language, thought and ideas of His own time. If we think of it, He could not have done otherwise. But in this guise He gave principles more far reaching than anything that His contemporaries could realize and capable of adaption to times very different from His own. The writers who would demand modern science or modern criticism, modern economics or sociology, must tell us whether we are really to believe that the particular doctrines on all these points at the present day may be considered as absolute truth. Do we really believe that on all these topics the opinions held among us now are final or that it is of the least importance from the point of view of religion that we should hold correct opinions on all these various points? Our Lord, we have always believed, had great spiritual truths to teach us. He wished to tell us of the superiority of the spiritual and eternal to the earthly and transitory. No better vehicle for such teaching could exist or has ever existed than the language of Jewish eschatology. Through that medium He teaches us as He taught His contemporaries then, but we do not feel that we can argue anything from it as to the limits of His knowledge or His outlook.

We are glad to notice that Mr. Streeter departs somewhat from the straitest sect of the eschatologists. He is willing to interpret the phrase 'the kingdom of Heaven' occasion-

ally in some other than an Apocalyptic sense:-

'Wherever the forces of the evil one are put to flight, whenever the sick are healed, whenever men hearken to the call

to repent, these things are no mere sign that the Kingdom is near; they are, so far as they go, an actual instalment of the realised reign of God on earth. They are not the flash-light from a distant coast, the mouth of the harbour is already reached.'1

We do not know that we care for this final metaphor, but we must emphasize the importance of this concession, for it will take us a great way. The modern critic has discovered that when our Lord used the expression the 'kingdom of God,' He is employing a phrase of ordinary use in His day. They ask what it meant in that usage, and would then confine our Lord's teaching within the limits of the thought of His contemporaries. Such a method of interpretation is surely erroneous. Our Lord used a phrase of the religious world of His day, because in no other way would He have been intelligible to those whom He taught. But He used it to convey truths infinitely deeper than they had imagined. His contemporaries understood something of His meaning, and each age of Christianity, going back to Him, has learnt something more from His words. The Eschatologist confuses the form with the substance.

Quite clearly our Lord taught in the language of His time. But that language was not limited to Eschatology. Judaism at the time of our Lord was a very complex phenomenon, and all its different sides were reflected in His teaching. There was the traditional use of the Old Testament. Our Lord knew His Bible-if we may with reverence use the expression—better than any of His contemporaries, and He always employs it to bring out something deeper than they had imagined. There was Pharisaism; there was the conception of the Divine Society, the Israel of God; there was the law with its ideal of an upright life lived in the sight of God on earth-all these different sides of the life of His contemporaries are reflected in His teaching. All He uses, all He transforms, all He inspires. We cannot afford time at present to pursue this scheme further. We would only say in conclusion that

there is much that is attractive in Mr. Streeter's exposition of the teaching of Christ, much from which we may learn. What he writes is very much better than his theory; but he is limited by an excessive devotion to one narrow point of view, and a dogmatic opinion about our Lord's human knowledge which he has inherited from Lux Mundi.

III

There has naturally been no point in the book more discussed than the few pages devoted to the subject of the Resurrection in Mr. Streeter's essay. It is important first of all to recognize the attitude of the writers collectively on the subject. They do not approach it in a light-hearted spirit, and they accept it as a fundamental fact in Christian history and thought. Here is the way in which Mr. Temple begins his essay on the Church:—

'When the earthly ministry of the Lord was ended, the fruit of it was not a body of teaching or a collection of writings; it was a little society consisting of those who had been His companions and had been given, by the fact of His Resurrection, an unshakeable conviction that in Him God had taken action and had redeemed the world. This primitive Church is before all else the Church of the Resurrection. The Resurrection was what changed the dispirited disciples into the founders of the Church militant and triumphant; the Resurrection was the burden of their preaching; the Resurrection was itself the condition and type of their own lives.'

Nothing could be stronger or more explicit than this. But while the importance of the belief is recognized and its reality confessed, the writers generally, and Mr. Streeter in particular, are bewildered by a sense of the situation which a combination of historical and a priori criticism has created, and their bewilderment is a faithful index of a very widespread feeling of mental perplexity. Clearly the historical basis of Christianity is the Resurrection; if we take that away it is a little difficult to understand

how it came into being, how it survived the tragedy of the Crucifixion, how it grew and developed; if we are to retain our faith in Christianity we must surely accept its logical and historical basis; we cannot believe that the whole of the great structure which has been built up and lasted with undiminished spiritual force through all these centuries should be based upon an illusion; but then, can we accept the historical statements on which it is based? and if we do not have we any real foundation?

It will be remembered that this was the difficulty which Professor Harnack attempted to meet when he distinguished between the Easter message and the Easter faith. The Easter message was the message of the empty tomb. That has passed away, so that we have no need for it. It had its work to do, and it has accomplished it. The Easter faith was the true and certain conviction that Jesus lived. That abides as a triumphant faith. In that faith the Church conquered, and of that faith it remains assured. Few, we imagine, who read the well-known work, What is Christianity? were satisfied. It did not give any solid basis, and would content no one. Clearly the Easter faith depended on the Easter message. Can we keep the faith if we have given up the message? Has 'Foundations' anything more satisfactory to offer?

The difficulty as stated by Mr. Streeter is this. Although we feel how strong are the arguments for belief in a future life, we cannot now accept the old-fashioned theory of the resurrection of the body. Our bodies are dissolved into their original particles; these particles may be shared by many other bodies. The old idea that the graves would open and the dead be raised is clearly incredible. But such the Resurrection of Christ is represented to have been. The story is clearly modelled in accordance with the current teaching of the day. And is it likely that the resurrection of our Lord would be different in character from our resurrection? Was He not the firstfruits of the dead?

'The various accounts in the Gospels of the appearances of the Lord to His disciples after the resurrection imply a conception of the resurrection body as being physically identical

with the body placed in the tomb, yet as having undergone some measure of transmutation and, so to speak, dematerialisation in general accordance with these popular eschatological ideas. Hence we cannot refuse to consider the possibility that many of the details in the stories as we have them may have been insensibly read into the facts actually observed from the popular presuppositions in the light of which they were interpreted. Few even nowadays always distinguish between a fact observed and a seemingly obvious inference made from it at the time; and the operation of such a tendency must be allowed for the more since there is reason to believe that the stories as we have them are not accounts at first-hand by eye-witnesses.' 1

The evidence to be considered divides itself into two portions, the empty tomb and the Resurrection appearances. It is interesting to note the changed point of view with regard to the empty tomb. There was a time when it was sought to prove that the evidence for this was not adequate, that it was not part of the original Christian belief, that St. Paul did not know of it, and so on. All this is now changed. It is recognized that the beginning of the belief in the Resurrection was the fact that the tomb was empty, that that was why St. Paul spoke of the Resurrection on the third day, and why Christians kept the first day of the week. It is interesting to notice that in his work on the Resurrection Mr. Lake accepts the fact that the women found an empty tomb, but thinks they made a mistake. Mr. Streeter tells us that he believes 'the discovery of the empty tomb ' to rest 'on adequate historical evidence.'2 Mr. Rawlinson (or Mr. Parsons) sums up the present point of view somewhat epigrammatically. The faith of the disciples in the Resurrection

'certainly involved not merely the sight of the Risen Lord, but also the knowledge of the empty tomb. No doubt to the minds of men to-day this emptiness of the tomb is attended by serious difficulties either way: orthodox explanations of it suggest metaphysical difficulties and unorthodox explanations historical ones.' ³

It is most important that this should be recognized. For long we were told that the evidence was bad. Now we are told that the evidence is good. We were accused of accepting the Gospel facts because we wished to believe them; now we are told to reject them, in spite of good evidence, not because they are untrue, but because they are hard to believe, because they conflict with a priori assumptions.

How does Mr. Streeter deal with this situation? He writes as follows:

'It is not difficult to imagine more than one set of circumstances which might account on purely natural grounds for the tomb being found empty. Various suggestions have been put forward, as for instance that the Romans, fearing a possible disturbance, took advantage of the Sabbath quiet to remove the body out of the reach of the disciples. Of course, neither this nor any other one definite suggestion has any claim to be regarded as in itself particularly probable, but where a natural explanation of an event is at all possible there must be very special reasons for falling back upon an explanation of a supernatural character.' 1

We have so far attempted to follow Mr. Streeter's argument, but we have now reached a point where we feel obliged to pause and criticize. Mr. Streeter believes that the Resurrection was fundamentally a fact, that Christ really lives, and that this belief is a 'foundation' of Christianity. Further, he confesses that the evidence for the empty tomb is good. But he refuses to believe it, and is prepared to accept the situation which would make the origin of the Christian faith a blunder, or a fraud. The disciples found the tomb empty. They therefore believed that Christ was risen. Later their belief was strengthened by the fact that He appeared to them. Later they experienced the power of the Resurrection. This is the way in which things are narrated to have happened. But Mr. Streeter assures us that, although the belief is true, the grounds on which it is based will not stand examination. We cannot really accept

his position. The faith of the disciples, that faith which made them start on the conquest of the world, was built up on a blunder. It may be possible for those who do not accept the truth of Christianity to hold this position, although even they have to face a difficult problem. But we cannot regard the position as a rational one for anyone who does accept it. We do not doubt Mr. Streeter's honesty or earnestness, but he is asking us to accept a theory which, if we believe in God's government of the world, if we believe in the moral law, if we believe in truth as a principle of life, is to us incredible. The fact is that when it is confessed that the evidence for the empty tomb is good, the necessity for all such explanations falls to the ground.

The strange thing is that now those who adopt this situation are in a somewhat curious position. They are beginning to play with historical evidence in the way that was supposed to be the monopoly of orthodoxy. They rival the proverbial capacity of Wordsworth's Greek Testament to see through a brick wall. Whether the evidence for the empty tomb be good or bad makes no difference; we cannot believe it. If the evidence be good there must be an explanation somewhere. It may be difficult to find one really satisfactory, but if one does not content us, some other perhaps will.

Nor is Mr. Streeter's method of dealing with the appearances any more satisfactory. He rejects what he describes as the traditional view—really a somewhat crudely materialistic theory, which has hardly been held by theologians; he is not content with a theory of a 'subjective'

vision:

'Any purely subjective theory seems inadequately to account for that conviction of spiritual communion with the Risen Christ which has been a determining fact throughout the history of the Church.' 1

His explanation is as follows:

'Only if the possibility of personal immortality be dogmatically denied can there be any real difficulty in supposing that the Master would have been able to convince His disciples of His victory over death by some adequate manifestation;—possibly by showing Himself to them in some form such as might be covered by St. Paul's phrase, "a spiritual body"; possibly through some psychological channel similar to that which explains the mysterious means of communication between persons commonly known as telepathy; or possibly in some way of which at present we have no conception. On such a view, the appearances to the disciples can only be styled "visions," if we mean by vision something directly caused by the Lord Himself veritably alive and personally in communion with them.' 1

The theory is, we believe, called the 'objective' vision, and it is not one which really helps us forward. It must be remembered that to anyone imbued with the idea of a purely naturalistic interpretation of phenomena an objective vision is as much a miracle as an objective appearance. Psychology is to such an one a science with its own strict laws, and any violation of these laws is to him as impossible as the objective appearance of a dead person. This is just one of those cases where the historical imagination becomes such a dangerous guide, Clearly the objective appearance of a dead person is very unusual, and even if there were reasons for believing it, it would still be difficult to realize that it happened: therefore let us say an 'objective 'vision. That seems easier to believe. It is not really so. It is just as hard, just as abnormal. Only it does not make such demands on our imagination.

The fact is that Mr. Streeter is ready to accept so much that there is something arbitrary in what he rejects. Surely, if we are willing to believe the Apostles as witnesses of the Resurrection, we cannot really reject all that we are told of the grounds of their belief. Those grounds are quite clear—the empty tomb, and appearances, different indeed from those of a normal human being, but with clear and definite marks of personality. No other testimony could be convincing or justify the phrase 'many infallible proofs.' We are not committed to any particular theory. If we remember the early teaching we received it did not contain

anything crudely materialistic. We may use, if we like, St. Paul's theory of a 'spiritual' body, or Westcott's of a 'sacramental' body. We do not think that Mr. Streeter's theory of an 'objective vision' should be condemned, provided we recognize that it means that the testimony is real.

But behind this there is a further point. Did our Lord's human body remain in the grave? or did He rise with His body in new life, as St. Paul believed, with His body transformed and spiritualized? Mr. Streeter admits that it was essential that the early Christians should have believed that it rose. Had they not so believed there would have been a cult of the body. He seems to suggest, however, that it did not rise. That seems to be implied in what he says. At any rate, it is a theory which will inevitably present itself, as it has actually done; and that is the situation which to us and to many others seems to be so difficult. We would gladly, did space permit, work out the question at greater length, but must confine ourselves to a few reflexions intended to remove difficulties. Mr. Streeter and his friends have thought about the questions from all sides, and they mention some, at any rate, of these points as inconsistent with the view suggested, but sufficient emphasis is not, we hold, laid upon them.

We would, in the first place, suggest that if what all the writers of these essays believe is true, then the life, the death, the resurrection of Jesus Christ were something so far transcending human experience that we cannot say what would or would not have happened. Do we really believe that God became incarnate in Jesus Christ, that God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself, that He was the only-begotten Son of the Father? If we believe these things, are we really going to say on a priori grounds what would or would not have happened as part of this revelation? We think that a wise sense of proportion will make us hesitate to do so.

Then, secondly, we must recognize that in the nature of things the Resurrection of Christ must be different from that of any other person. It is true He was the

firstborn among many brethren, that as He rose so we are ealso to rise with Him. But He not only rose as we shall rise; His resurrection was also to be a sign. It was to give us adequate proof that He had risen. If the stories in the New Testament are true the Apostles had adequate proof. The evidence was sufficient.

And it was only sufficient because of the things which are doubted. We may speculate on the nature of personality, but for us a human personality does not exist except as embodied in a material frame. We could not recognize a disembodied spirit unless it appeared in the material likeness of a human being we had known. The disciples could recognize Jesus—in so far as He was human—only in and through His bodily appearance. What was the nature or character of that body we do not know, and many of us do not care to speculate. It must have been something such as to convince the disciples. Nor could these appearances have been efficient apart from the 'empty tomb.' The evidence given is adequate 1 if the facts be true, and no other evidence would be.

Nor need we be frightened on any grounds philosophical, evolutionary or materialistic by the abnormal or unusual. Is it quite true that the abnormal or unexpected does not occur? Is it quite untrue that things have happened which have not occurred again? The whole of the life-history of the earth is the history of new departures. There was a time once when (if we may believe Evolutionists) in some wonderful way the germs of life appeared in the world. A tremendous new start was made. Something occurred which does not occur now and (so far as we know) has not occurred since. There was a time when the unconscious became conscious, when man first became man. It happened once, it may have happened more than once, but so far as we can judge it does not happen now and is not likely to happen again. Christians believe

¹ We do not mean by 'adequate' demonstrative for those who would approach from outside as if they were dealing with a scientific fact or mathematical truth, but adequate as evidence for a spiritual truth to those who are spiritually minded.

that the Incarnation marked a new era in human history as great as the coming of life or the coming of man. Something happened then which had never happened before, and need not happen again. Something happened which transformed human life. We have only to read any one of the epistles of St. Paul to know that. Something happened then which made a new epoch in human history. Would nothing occur then, which could not be brought within the limits of what is normal under ordinary circumstances, nothing which would conflict with an historical

imagination limited by its everyday experiences!

One word more. Although there is no definite discussion on the subject, it is obvious that many of the writers, like others of their contemporaries in Oxford, like the modern world generally, are very much frightened at the idea of anything which can be called in the ordinary sense of the word 'miraculous.' ¹ Is such a position one that can be logically defended? Do they believe that the Son of God could appear on earth and nothing abnormal occur? Would a new and wonderful spiritual gift be given to men without any sign of that gift? A great spiritual crisis in the history of the universe had taken place. Can we limit the power of the spiritual over the material by our own material imaginings? It is not reason that makes us frightened of the miraculous; it is a defective imagination and a mind prejudiced by continually dwelling on the normal processes of nature, processes which on scientific grounds alone are not sufficient to have made the world what it is. It is only through abnormal happenings, it is only through changes which in some sense have been catastrophic in character that Evolution has been possible.

We fully recognize the value and the power of Mr. Streeter's eloquent conclusion, *Vicisti Galilaee!* We quite admit that if the narratives of the Gospel came to us 'hung in the air,' events described in a book which had no place in history or in life, we could not believe them. But Christian history does not justify us in dispensing with the 'foundations' on which that history has been built. It

¹ See pp. 139, 167.

gives us adequate and sufficient reason for our belief. Because of Christian history, because of Christian life, because of Christian experience, we are able to approach the history of Christian origins so as to believe them. Then, when we discover that the testimony is good (and Mr. Streeter himself assures us that it is), we believe what we are told of the life and death and resurrection of Christ, and that testimony and those beginnings corroborate and strengthen the conviction that experience had suggested.

IV

There is something singularly attractive about Mr. Moberly's essays. We have seldom read anything which gave greater testimony of a sincere desire to arrive at 'truth.' He is generally conspicuously undogmatic in his statements, and gives abundant proof that he has looked at the question from every possible side. He states everything that has suggested itself as conflicting with his own opinion. In fact to us the objections that he puts forward seem very largely to outweigh his own arguments. He admits that he cannot offer a complete solution. It is one of the characteristics of a university that no one who does not 'stop his ears' can help hearing the other side. This 'outcome of an Oxford friendship' has obviously been discussed and criticized by its authors point by point. They have raised for themselves every difficulty which critics may hereafter suggest. They are all singularly candid and sincere; but Mr. Moberly is conspicuous even among his companions.

His main thesis is that the modern idealistic philosophy as expounded by Mr. Bradley in particular, and by others such as Dr. Bosanquet and Mr. Webb, represents the truest type of philosophy, and that Christian Theism can and should be stated in terms of the absolute. There are two questions involved. Is the 'absolute' the truest solution that philosophy can give of the nature of reality? and Is this adequate for an explanation of Christianity?

Mr. Moberly begins by emphasizing the inadequacy of the so-called 'proofs' of the existence of God. In so far as they claim to be demonstrative proof we should entirely agree with him, and he on his side is prepared to admit that they are capable of being stated in a manner in which they are of value. But where we feel that his arguments are weak (and the arguments of all those who adopt modern idealistic systems) is that he claims a cogency for the proof of the 'absolute' which he denies for the proofs of the existence of God. We know that there are many who share his views, and we admit that we may be thought unfashionable and old-fashioned, but it has always seemed to us that the 'critique' of Kant is just as applicable to the philosophy of Hegel and his successors as it was to the philosophy of Descartes. Descartes is criticized because 'the assumption of the validity of the intuition presupposes certain beliefs about the ultimate nature of the universe, and about the place of man and of human reason in the universe, and cannot therefore be fairly used to justify those beliefs'1; and because his argument is one 'from the Finite to the Infinite, or from what holds good in experience to what transcends experience.' 2 Now, when we come to Mr. Moberly's own argument, it seems to us to labour under just the same difficulties.

is the truest which explains the most. If then, as we hold, the universe is a system which is the ground and explanation of everything in it, then, as between finite realities, we shall agree with Mr. Bradley that the fuller (i.e. the more inclusive and self-explanatory) is the more real, and that a description of the Whole in such terms is the least inadequate. We can easily see why this should be so; for the whole Universe, we hold, is a Cosmos,' 3 and so on.

Surely this argument labours under just the disadvantages that Mr. Moberly has described. We know that within the limits of experience the universe is to us a Cosmos, and we know that our minds are such that they will not be content

with thinking of them in any way but as a Cosmos in 'reality.' But when we speak of reality we get at once beyond experience. What right have we to think that our inferences remain valid? Practically in order to prove that the universe is a Cosmos we have to assume that it is one. For we have no experience of what is beyond. Our reasoning powers are we know trustworthy, if rightly used, within the limits of experience, but when we get beyond

these limits their value is only hypothetical.

We do not mean to detract from the real value of the argument which Mr. Moberly presents; it has the same value as Mr. Bradley's brilliant dialectic or rhetoric (we never know quite which it is). As against sensationalism or agnosticism or materialism, the modern idealist philosopher has, we venture to think, proved conclusively that no rational foundation for knowledge is for us possible except on the basis of a spiritual interpretation of the universe. But all such speculation has its very definite limits. It always assumes that the Cosmos must be in reality what we are compelled to think it to be. There is always this major premiss concerned, whether by the believers in the absolute or the believers in a more definitely theistic philosophy.

Ultimately, therefore, our basis of belief in the spiritual nature of the universe is that it is that hypothesis which most adequately and completely explains all the facts of experience. We have to ask, then, which is the more adequate and complete hypothesis, the belief in the Absolute, i.e. a God who is the Cosmos, a God immanent, or a belief in a God transcendent, who created the world as the extension of Himself, and ourselves as free spiritual beings. To us the latter is the truer hypothesis. It explains more. It admits the reality of the 'ego,' and as the 'ego' is the startingpoint of all our speculations, an hypothesis which does not give full value to it does not appear adequate. The hypothesis of philosophy may seem simpler than that of religion, the Theism of an older school of writers may have been too much like Deism. If we looked at the Cosmos alone we might be content with a God who was the Absolute, but our knowledge of ourselves being a condition

of our knowledge of the world, any hypothesis which we accept must be adequate to explain human individuality.

And this leads to the second question. Mr. Moberly tries hard to convince us that his God, who is the Absolute. can be looked at as a philosophical representation of the God of Christianity, and that his philosophy is the best foundation for Christianity. There is something very attractive in the fairness and candour with which he writes: he admits that he has not proved his case, but he hopes that he is on the lines to bring about a reconciliation between the philosophy by which he is attracted and the religion which he believes. We think that it is his philosophy that will eventually have to be modified. If met by the statement that his system is not consistent with the idea of Personality, he bids us revise our conception of what Personality means, and points to two facts of experience which will, he thinks, justify us in doing so, the union of two Personalities in the highest form of human love, and the union of the devout soul with God. But do not these both suggest something very much the reverse? Is not the beauty of human affection the perfect union of two separate human personalities, of two wills which learn to co-operate, to submit themselves to a common life and work in a perfect voluntary harmony? And is not the religious union of the soul with God the voluntary submission of the human will to the divine, the finding of its true freedom by the soul living in harmony with and not in rebellion against Him who represents its truest life? And when God becomes all in all, it is not because all is God and God is all, but because the sanctified human soul unites in perfect harmony with Him, rendering the perfect homage of a free spirit. The completion of God in the Church is something much more wonderful than His completion in nature, for in the one we have the homage of perfect order, and in the other the homage of perfect love. Does not all this imply a human personality very different from anything compatible with the philosophy of the Absolute?

If we really wanted anything to convince us that Mr. Moberly's theory will have to be modified, it is his second

essay on the Atonement. Here he restates, with the same ability and candour that we have already met, his father's well-known theory, and he will do much, we believe, to win a wider acceptance for it; but we very much doubt whether the argument of Chapter VI. could be stated in the phraseology of Chapter IX. One fact is significant. So far as we remember, the 'Fatherhood of God' is not mentioned in the latter essay, but it is the very basis of the argument in the former.

We do not believe that Mr. Moberly is likely to be successful in what he has attempted, but we are glad that he has made the attempt. We believe that the most brilliant modern exponent of idealism always aimed at stating it so as to make it incompatible with ordinary Christian belief. We have always believed that, whatever may have been his intentions, he has done more than most writers in recent years to restore the philosophical groundwork of theology, and we certainly think that Mr. Moberly has done a good deal to bring the God of Philosophy nearer to the God of Christianity. He has done something also to correct and modify some current religious notions, but he will ultimately, we believe, find it necessary still further to modify his philosophical ideas.

V

Space will not allow us to dwell on the other contributions to this volume. The essay on 'The Interpretation of the Christ in the New Testament' seems to us one of the best and will help towards the understanding of the historical development of doctrine. It may help also to correct the impression made by Mr. Streeter's essay. The same is true of Mr. Temple's essay on 'The Divinity of Christ.' We should, however, have wished that he had taken a more just view of the Chalcedonian Christology. He clearly has little or no first-hand knowledge of the subject; he is entirely dependent on Harnack, and Harnack, like most Germans, is unfair to Chalcedon. They have resented the condemnation of Monophysitism, and it seems strange now

that Dr. Loofs should apparently resent the condemnation of Nestorianism. The real fact is that the Chalcedonian Christology is singularly free from philosophical limitations; it did little more than guard for the ancient and mediaeval world, as it guards for us, the reality and truth of both the human and Divine Natures, without committing the Church to any theory about them. But there runs through several of these essays a tendency to look upon the Greek language about the Divine Nature as 'materialistic,' because it is not stated in terms which are personal and moral. Mr. Moberly, on the other hand, tells us that we ought to be more Greek in our conception of personality, and we are not certain that there is not a fundamental discrepancy between the types of thought among the writers of these essays. Was not the Patristic language about 'essence' an attempt to explain just what is meant by the merging of the individual personality in the collective idea of the Christian society, and the relation of the individual personality to the Divine Unity?

Mr. Temple's essay on the Church is attractive but does not take us very far. Mr. Rawlinson's article on 'Authority' contains a good deal that is valuable, but is to our mind needlessly apologetic. We do not think that his theory of the history of the Ministry is very illuminating, and we fail to understand why a belief in Apostolical succession is inconsistent with the existence of some imperfectly organized communities in the early ages of the Church. But we do not wish to enter into a discussion on these points at present.

The work as a whole has much of value, and much that is singularly attractive. But shall we be considered unkind if we suggest that it is just as 'Foundations' that it fails? It is an attempt to build up a solid exposition of the Christian faith on the basis of principles or ideas which have a certain amount of vogue at the present day—'Experience,' 'Eschatology,' 'Divine Immanence,' the doctrine of the 'Absolute.' So far as such Foundations will bear the superstructure we think that they are successful; for the sake of many—not only the writers—it was right and necessary that the attempt should be made, but it is in

our opinion just these Foundations which are weak. It is right to emphasize the value and reality of religious experience, and that religion is more than theology; it is right, too, that we should dwell on the Bible as a record of religious experience. But the Bible is much more: it gives an historical basis to our faith, and it has taught the world a creed. Eschatology represented a valuable reaction from an unhistorical and academic interpretation of the Gospel, but the Gospel is much more than Eschatology. thoroughgoing Eschatologist is prepared to accept a Christ who was not only limited in His human knowledge but was hardly even intelligent, certainly had none of the foresight or intelligence of a great human mind. Our writers are not thoroughgoing Eschatologists, but their devotion to this newest phase of criticism has led to the adoption of some hazardous views. We do not see, also, how a doctrine of Divine Immanence and a philosophy of the Absolute are ultimately consistent with a belief in the moral character of the Universe.

No doubt all these phases of modern thought, even if they are one-sided, can teach us much. They tend to modify hard legalistic ideas about God and crude mechanical theories of Nature. They are preparing the way for a more humane theology, but they do not give it.

We suggested at the beginning of this article that it was the merit (although to some it might seem to be the weakness) of Oxford Movements and books that they are only half thought out. We believe that to be emphatically true of these writers. Their insight and power are so great, their faith is so genuine, their hopes are so inspiring, the superstructure that they are raising is so imposing, that we believe that we shall gradually find them strengthening their 'foundations' with material more solid if more old-fashioned.

We could wish to have stopped here, but one more matter demands attention. There have been rumours of some sort of official condemnation of at least one of the writers of this treatise, and we feel it necessary to express our sincere hope that nothing of the sort be done. We have not concealed our difference of opinion from some of the

writers; we believe that some of their speculations are most hazardous, but of the genuineness of their belief and of their constructive purpose there can be no doubt. They have not exceeded the limits of legitimate experiment and adventure, and the right method of dealing with such speculations is certainly not the exercise of ecclesiastical authority.

In a recent number of the Church Quarterly Review we discussed the life of Cardinal Newman, and ventured to suggest that one of the lessons of that life was the value of freedom. But let us hear Newman's own words:

'This age of the Church is peculiar,—in former times, primitive or mediaeval, there was not the extreme centralization which now is in use. If a private theologian said anything free, another answered him. If the controversy grew, then it went to a bishop, a theological faculty, or to some foreign University. The Holy See was but the court of ultimate appeal. Now, if I, as a private priest, put anything into print, Propaganda answers me at once. How can I fight with such a chain on my arm? It is like the Persians driven to fight under the lash. There was true private judgment in the primitive and mediaeval schools,—there are no schools now, no private judgment (in the religious sense of the phrase), no freedom, that is, of opinion. That is, no exercise of the intellect.' 1

We should probably all recognize the force of this. We are quite ready to condemn the modern system of the Roman Church. We must be careful that we do not introduce anything of the same sort into our own Church, with an individual bishop, or even the Bench of bishops, in the place of the Pope.

Let us look on the history of the Anglican Church in the last hundred years. How foolish and harmful were the actions of the bishops and the Oxford authorities during the Tractarian Movement! Who would not look with dissatisfaction on the suspension of Dr. Pusey? Would we not all like to be able to forget the condemnation of Bishop Colenso? How thankful do we not feel for the forbearance

¹ Wilfrid Ward, Life of John Henry, Cardinal Newman, vol. i. p. 588 (Longmans. 1912).

exercised by many who were sorely hurt by the publication of Lux Mundi! There are two writers in Lux Mundi now on the Bench. Let them remember how bitter was the blow they inflicted on their own friends, what restraint was shewn towards them; they are not infallible, the conclusions attained by Lux Mundi have no monopoly of critical and theological truth, and it is their duty to see that the same forbearance and consideration are shewn towards younger writers who have difficult problems to face and are addressing themselves to the task with conviction and courage.

We do not say that there never is an occasion when condemnation will not be necessary; that ecclesiastical writers will not be found who exceed the limits of freedom legitimate in an ecclesiastical society. Anyone who takes Orders limits his freedom, and from time to time there may be found those who presume on the liberty which is granted us. But what we have to be on our guard against is the building up of charges of inferential or constructive heresy. Ecclesiastical history has many instances of the injury which has been done by the condemnation of men because we infer from something that they have said that they do not believe the Christian faith. That is only too often the method of controversy, and it is most unfair.

The writers before us have nothing of the temper or tone of heretics; they are constructive theologians. They are believing Christians who are attempting the task which each age of new life has before it, of restating the traditional faith in the language of the day. So far as they succeed we can accept their contribution; for all that they attempt we can be grateful; when they fail we can correct them. Controversy and argument are just and right. But to invoke the condemnation of ecclesiastical authority will be to inflict an irreparable injury on the life of the Christian Church and Christian belief in our universities.

ARTHUR C. HEADLAM.

ART. II.—ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI.

- I. Life of St. Francis of Assisi. By Father CUTHBERT, O.S.F.C. (London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1912.)
- 2. Saint François d'Assise, sa vie et son œuvre. Par Johannes Joergensen. Traduction . . . ou danois. Par Teodor de Wyzewa. 23^{ième} édition. (Paris: Perrin et Cie.)
- 3. Vie de Saint François d'Assise. Par PAUL SABATIER. Ouvrage couronné par l'Académie Française. X^{ième} édition. (Paris: Librairie Fischbacher.)
- 4. The Story of St. Francis of Assisi. By Elizabeth W. Grierson. (London: Mowbray. 1912.)

It is surely a significant fact that in our own generation, when secularism and materialism seem more than usually in the ascendant, no fewer than three biographies of St. Francis of Assisi should have been given to the world; and it is further observable that they represent three different nationalities, French, Danish, and English. Of these M. Sabatier's book may be said to have almost attained the dignity of a classic; M. Jörgensen's fresh and lucid and eminently readable work has already reached its twenty-third edition; and yet the Life of St. Francis by Father Cuthbert seems to claim a place of its own which it fully deserves.

Father Cuthbert has had access to new materials, and has used them with praiseworthy industry and judgement. Yet the chief merit of his work is that he never overpowers his readers with an ill-digested mass of erudition, but contrives to tell the old familiar story with a grace and charm of style which makes one feel that he has, in a sense, identified himself with the immortal, the fascinating, the almost unearthly character of the Saint. We follow Francis in these pages through the familiar incidents of his life; his gay reckless youth, his early ambitions, his captivity, the illness, that strange voice at Spoleto which asked him,

'Francis, whom is it better to serve, the lord or the servant?' And he wonderingly replied, 'Surely it is better to serve the Lord.' 'Why then dost thou make a lord of the servant?' 'Lord, what dost Thou will me to do?' 'Return' (said the voice) 'to the land of thy birth, and there it will be told thee what thou shalt do.' We see Francisand it is remarkable how at this point his story recalls that of Siddartha (otherwise Gautama or Buddha) 1-mastered by a strange but irresistible fascination, as he sees the lepers and the beggars with whom Italy at that period abounded; we see him when at Rome disguised as a beggar, and for a whole day asking alms outside St. Peter's Church: we see him conquering his own natural shrinking from disease, and bestowing on the loathsome leper the kiss of peace. We read of his rebuilding with his own hands the Church of San Damiano; of his final breach with his family; of that memorable St. Matthias' Day 2 when he heard the Gospel words (St. Matt. x. 7-19) which formed the motto of his future life: preaching the kingdom, poverty, simplicity, and trust in God. Not long afterwards we find him with his first two companions, Bernard da Quintavalle and Peter Cathanii, visiting the Church of St. Nicholas, and by an experiment like the Sortes Vergilianae, thrice opening the Gospel-book at haphazard and finding successively three verses (St. Matt. xix. 21, St. Luke ix. 3. St. Matt. xvi. 24) which made him exclaim 'Brothers. this is our life and rule for ourselves and all who will join

 1 Cf. Edwin Arnold's description of Siddârtha when, in the midst of his prosperity, he first sees the beggar and the corpse, and says:

O known and unknown of my common flesh,
Caught in this common net of death and woe
And life which binds to both! I see, I feel
The vastness of the agony of earth,
The vainness of its joys, the mockery
Of all its best, the anguish of its worst.'

Light of Asia, Book III.

² Some authorities say St. Luke's Day.

our company.' Shortly afterwards they were joined by Brother Giles, and thus the Franciscan Order sprang into being.¹

It is not necessary, on the present occasion, to retrace the various steps of the life of St. Francis. The every-day reader may be referred to Miss Grierson's charming and attractively illustrated little book mentioned at the head of this article. It is our purpose, rather, to note down some of the reflexions which arise in our minds after the perusal of such a life.

The first thought that strikes us is that the interest of the narrative is largely due to its presentation of the conflict which arises between individualism on the one hand and ecclesiastical organization on the other. As Browning says in 'Bishop Blougram's Apology':

'Our interest's on the dangerous edge of things.'

It is what we feel in gazing at a line of coast where the waves break eagerly against the rocky cliff. We see in Francis, and in the early history of his Order, the whole movement governed by one dominating personality. One might say that Francis was the Order. He was the beautiful, loveable, living embodiment of his own Rule; not so much its head as its heart.

As time went on and numbers increased it befel him (and the experience is common enough with other creative minds) to find that a stricter organization was considered necessary. He was like a poet whose works had to be reduced to the rules of grammar and prosody. What he had done by a certain divine intuition had to be carried

¹ Cf. Dante's Paradiso, xi. 76.

'La lor concordia, e i lor lieti sembianti,
Amore e maraviglia e dolce sguardo
Faceano esser cagion de' pensier santi;
Tanto che il venerabile Bernardo
Si scalzò prima, e dietro a tanta pace
Corse, e correndo gli parv' esser tardo.
O ignota ricchezza, o ben verace!
Scalzasi Egidio, e scalzasi Silvestro
Dietro allo sposo, sì la sposa piace.'

on by common-place men and along formal methodical lines. He comes in contact first with Pope Innocent III and then with Cardinal Ugolino, and later with Honorius III. They all realize, as time goes on, that here is a force which the Church ought to turn to account (and we may say in passing how much wiser they were in their generation than the Anglican Episcopate was in the time of John Wesley).

Pope Innocent died ¹ soon after the Fourth Lateran Council, and there are few pages in Father Cuthbert's volume more interesting than those which treat of his sermon at that assembly, with its pathetic anticipation of his own death and its singular allusion to Ezek. ix. 4. From that time forward, we are told, Francis used the cruciform letter *Tau* as his sign manual. This council also is memorable as having given rise to the meeting of St. Francis and St. Dominic.

'Dominic,' says Fr. Cuthbert,2 'had come to petition the Pope for leave to found a new order of Preachers. Dominic's purpose was directly to defend the faith of Christendom against the argumentative attacks of the heretics, whereas the purpose of Francis was that primary aim of the penitent upheaval (sic), the more perfect practice of the Gospel Life. How far, one wonders, was Pope Innocent conscious that in those two men would be found the driving force which was to realize the prophetic mission of purgation which he had set before the council? ... The first meeting of Francis and Dominic is one of the romances of history. . . . One night, during his stay in the Eternal City, Dominic in a dream saw himself and a man he did not know, presented by the Blessed Virgin to Jesus Christ, as the destined messengers of divine mercy to the world. The next day, coming across Francis, he recognised in him the man of his dream, and went forward and told the dream he had had. Then embracing Francis, he exclaimed, "You are my comrade, and we will run together. Let us stand together, and no enemy shall overcome us."

After a conference in the house of Cardinal Ugolino,

¹ It is noteworthy that Francis was one of the faithful few who remained at Innocent's death-bed at Perugia (Fr. Cuthbert, *Life of St. Francis*, p. 192) when many had forsaken him.

² *Ibid.* p. 180.

on the relations between the fraternities and the hierarchy, Dominic insisted on Francis giving him his cord, and girt it about him. Then the two spontaneously clasped each other's hands; an incident afterwards commemorated by Andrea della Robbia 'in one of his immortal terra cottas.'

As the years went on, and the Order developed, Francis became more and more conscious of a change in the spirit of the fraternity. This change had begun to make itself felt in the General Chapter of 1217.

'The organization of the fraternity, already very numerous, into provinces under Provincial ministers was due not merely to the extension of the Order: it was the expression of a need, beginning to be felt, of a more systematic organization, and a more impersonal government.'

Still more was this the case after the 'Chapter of Mats' (wattle huts hastily made for the occasion) in 1219 under the presidency of Cardinal Ugolino, at which Francis preached with his wonted fervour in praise of poverty and simplicity. But, despite the reverence felt for his person, the general feeling was not in harmony with him. At this Chapter it was determined to send out preachers to the infidel, and Francis himself went on a mission to the East during which he preached before the Soldan. A representation of this by Giotto may still be seen on the walls of the Franciscan Chapel in Santa Croce at Florence, and is reproduced in Miss Grierson's book.

But it was on his return from the East, about 1221, that Francis realized how rapidly things had moved in his absence. The two Vicars whom he had left behind 'were imposing obligations upon the brethren at variance with the Rule Francis had given them '—so said Brother Stephen, a lay-brother who met Francis at Acre; and 'the brethren who refused to be bound by them were badly treated by the Vicars, and even driven out of the Order.' And he brought with him, in confirmation of his story, a copy of the New Constitutions.

We can sympathize with Francis in his dismay at these

new measures, the effect of which may, roughly, be said to have tended to place the friars in more direct dependence on the Holy See, to promote their living in conventual buildings under severer and more formal rule, and in general to assimilate them to already existing monastic bodies. This was even more markedly the case with the spiritual daughter of Francis, Saint Clare, and her sisters.

'The Ugoline constitutions imposed [in the case of women] perpetual abstinence, continual silence, and the law of enclosure.
. . . They exhibit all the rigidity and harsh externalism of a rule meant to correct and guard against abuses, with none of the inspiring idealism which is the very life of a religious order. And, from the point of view of the Franciscan fraternity, they were a reversal of the very essential law of the Franciscan life, in that they allowed the Poor Ladies to hold property.' 1

Our sympathies are all naturally with Francis and with Clare, whose last earthly years were embittered by these and other innovations. The following beautiful extract needs no apology.

'One day (about 1223) as Francis was still sorrowing over the false brethren, there came to his spirit this comfort from the Lord Christ: "O poor little man, why are you distressed? Have I so set you a shepherd over My religion that you know not that I am its chief Protector? I set over it you, a simple man, to the end that those who will may follow you in those things I work in you for an example to others. It is I who have called them; I who will keep and feed them; and I will make good the falling away of some by putting others in their place, in such wise that if these others be not born I will cause them to be born. Be not therefore perturbed, but work out thy salvation; for even if the religion should come to but three members, yet through My gift shall it remain unshaken."...

Thus was his spirit renewed in peace.' 2

And yet, when we review the situation we cannot imagine how the Order would have gone on without the shaping hands of such men as Cardinal Ugolino and even of Brother Elias. The rank and file of men are not saints

¹ P. 246.

and heroes; they need organization, they must live by rule. True it is that the world has need of saints. The kindling force, the vital impulse must come from them. But such saints, like poets and original thinkers, are born, not made. They are God's gifts to their contemporaries, and, in a degree, to posterity. They have their own function, but they always will be as rare as they are priceless. A world entirely or even largely composed of them is almost inconceivable. For the jog-trot, every-day work of life, even of religious life, we want ordinary men and women, who will be obedient to rules, not too independent in character, and content to work in harness with others. In fact one may say that the great man is the steam-engine and his humble followers the coaches, vans, and trucks which he sets in motion. But a train composed entirely of engines would be as useless as an engineless train; and happily for the world the most of us are more apt at following than at leading. Whether the new Order could not have been better and more wisely organized than in some respects it was, is hardly a question we are able to discuss.

But at this point we must turn to quite another aspect of the life of Francis, and consider its quasi-miraculous character. Here again we shall find that 'our interest's on the dangerous edge of things,' that borderland between the world of matter and of spirit in which the life of the mediaeval saint is lived. That Francis was gifted with some kind of supernatural power can hardly be gainsaid. Twice he foretold an earthquake. His power over animals (see the story of the wolf at Gubbio 1 and the well-known one of his preaching to the birds) is quite of a piece with his general character. In that state of rapturous seclusion which preceded the reception of the stigmata, Brother Leo, coming to visit him, would find him in ecstasy lifted above the earth, his body yielded to the impulse of the spirit.2 On an earlier occasion he lifts Brother Masseo by the very force of his breath,3 and many other incidents might be quoted, especially miracles of healing,4 which, even when

¹ Pp. 302, 164 and note there.
² P. 336.
³ Pp. 209-10.
⁴ P. 348.

all allowance is made for the credulous spirit of the age, cannot be wholly set aside. Few things seem better authenticated than the fact of the stigmata. Even if we listen to modern pathologists who tell us that such manifestations are quite conceivable in some special conditions of mind and body, and are not without their analogies elsewhere, yet we feel they are a remarkable instance of the effect of spirit upon matter. It is quite clear that Francis was no ordinary man; that like John the Baptist (whom in many ways he resembled) he was called to an exceptional vocation, and that his magnetic power over others, his spiritual insight and his extraordinary personal charm as well as his powers of physical endurance, were God's gifts to enable him to fulfil his mission.

'Rapt though He were above the power of sense, Familiarly, yet out of the cleans'd heart Of that once sinful Being overflowed On sun, moon, stars, the nether elements, And every shape of creature they sustain, Divine affections; and with beast and bird (Stilled from afar—such marvel story tells— By casual outbreak of his passionate words, And from their own pursuits in field or grove Drawn to his side by look or act of love Humane, and virtue of his innocent life) He wont to hold companionship so free, So pure, so fraught with knowledge and delight, As to be likened in his Followers' minds To that which our first Parents, ere the fall From their high state darkened the Earth with fear, Held with all Kinds in Eden's blissful bowers.' 2

If it be true, as the above-quoted lines suggest, that

² Wordsworth, *The Cuckoo at Laverna* (Alvernia), May 25, 1837. The place where Francis received the stigmata.

¹ It seems impossible to class these miracles of Francis with the extraordinary powers of hypnotic suggestion which appear from time to time in various parts of the East. It is the extreme simplicity of Francis' character, and (in the case of the stigmata) his evident desire to conceal rather than reveal the wounds, that must impress every honest reader.

since the Fall 'the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain,' it is surely conceivable that a being of exceptional holiness, tenderness, and purity, as Francis certainly was, should do something to restore the harmony between man and nature. His tenderness for animals shews itself again and again. Who can forget his playful words about 'our sister the lark'? Who does not love the charming story of his feeding the bees in the cold weather? Of the rabbit which attached itself to him during his fast on Lake Thrasymene¹ and the falcon at Alvernia?² Or the still more touching incident when, suffering in body and mind after his return from the East to find what changes had been wrought in his absence, he heard a number of birds singing gaily in the thickets of the marshes near Venice? 'Our sisters, the birds,' he exclaimed, 'are praising their Creator. Let us go into the midst of them, and chant our hours to the Lord.' 3 It seemed as if in his saddest moments Nature had a voice of comfort for him. And this leads us to another aspect of his character.

It has been already observed that there are several points in common to be found in the early life of Gautama (Buddha) and St. Francis. In either case we have a man of good (in Gautama's case even of princely) birth brought up in luxury and prosperity, and, as it seems, startled at some moment of exceptional susceptibility by the sight of pain and poverty. Both Gautama and Francis lay aside all their worldly pomp (Francis changes clothes with a beggar, Gautama with a poor passer-by). Both retire from the world and found brotherhoods. The beggar's bowl of the Buddhist is as characteristic as the wallet of the Franciscan friar. And yet with all this outward similarity, there is the greatest real difference. Let us call up before our minds the figure of Buddha, seated cross-legged on the ground. with its air of utter aloofness and-not so much selfabsorption as the desire to get rid of the thought even of self; and then let us think of Fra Angelico's beautiful fresco of St. Francis on his knees beneath the Cross, with his adoring upward gaze. Love may be said to be the keynote

¹ P. 163, note.

² P. 340.

⁸ P. 249.

of St. Francis' life, renunciation or emancipation (despite the gentleness and tenderness of his character) that of Gautama. The latter is sometimes spoken of as atheistic. at any rate he considered that man could work out his own deliverance from the thraldom of the actual. St. Francis on the other hand lived and breathed in communion with God-and in love of God's works. We may say of him that he realized, in the way some holy men and women never appear to do, the meaning of that first article of the Creed—'I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth.' The beauty of this universe was, to the devout mind of Francis, due to the love and wisdom of God; and the holier he became the more alive he seems to have been to it. It was towards the close of his life, at a time when, after intense physical suffering, he had been carried to San Damiano, and was being cared for by Saint Clare and other friends, that he broke forth into the well-known Canticle of the Sun. 'I will make,' he said, 'a new hymn concerning those creatures of the Lord which minister to our daily bread, and without whom we could not live.' 1 The 'Canticle of Brother Sun' had afterwards a last verse added to it, 'The Canticle of Sister Death, uttered by Francis when the physicians had assured him that his days on earth were numbered 2:

'Praise be to Thee, my Lord, for our sister, Bodily Death,
From whom no living man can flee;
Woe is to them who die in mortal sin;
But blessed they who shall find themselves in Thy most holy will,
To them the second death shall do no ill.'

This feature in the character of Francis reminds us of One greater than he, whose sympathy with external Nature, and revelation of its inner life, are perpetually manifesting themselves in the pages of the Gospels. This visible creation is not an evil thing to be kept out of sight, renounced or ignored. 'God saw everything that He had made, and

behold it was very good.'

In the same way we are struck in the life of Francis (as we are in the Gospels) with his sympathy for every-day humanity. For him every man, woman, and child was created by God, and redeemed by Christ. There is no more human, no more loveable figure than his, among all the saints of the Calendar. His little touches of humour seem to bring him near to us.

'Would that I had a forest of such junipers!' was his exclamation when Brother Juniper (who seems to have unintentionally given as much entertainment to the fraternity as Hephaestus did to the Olympian deities) perpetrated some act of gaucherie. The stories of Brother Juniper are too numerous to be inserted, but one ¹ is irresistible. On the death of his dearest friend, Brother Amazialbene, Juniper exclaimed between his sobs:

'If it were not that I should not be able to have peace with the brothers I would go to his grave and take up his head; and out of his head I would make two porringers; one of which I would always eat out of, in memory of him and for my devotion's sake; and out of the other I would drink whenever I was thirsty and wished to drink.'

It speaks much for the *humanity* of Francis' character that he could find room alike in his heart and in his Order for these men of various temperaments.

A very interesting chapter in Fr. Cuthbert's book is that of the still existing Third Order of St. Francis, which was to embrace a number of men and women who were attracted by his teaching and yet could not wholly leave the world. A still more interesting one is headed 'The Friars establish a school.' As the Order grew and expanded, it was almost inevitable that a love of learning—especially theological learning—should come to the front. And here again Francis could not sympathize with the spirit of his later followers, although the wonderful spiritual gifts and the eloquence and fervour of St. Anthony of Padua made him personally acceptable to Francis, who addressed him as 'my Bishop.'

'To the end Francis watched the formation of schools by the brethren with some trepidation of spirit. For Anthony and such as he there was no cause to fear; but for the many others he feared lest the love of study should cause them to lose the

simplicity of spirit which belonged to their vocation.

'Of the later story of the Franciscan schools, and

developement of thought in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, this [says Fr. Cuthbert] is not the place to speak. Only here we will remark that their best influence was due to Francis' persistency that intellectual studies should be subordinated to Life itself, and in no way lead them astray from the vocation which they had vowed. It was this which gave to the Franciscan schoolmen a certain marked individuality of thought, and to the Franciscan preachers their peculiar power with the people.' 1

It is gratifying to think that, even in the present day, the Franciscan schools in Italy are among the best in the country.

This leads us to say a few words as to the later history

of the Order.

In England the early work of the friars was quite in the spirit of St. Francis. 'They fixed themselves in the meanest and poorest quarters of each town. . . . At Oxford they made their way to the swampy ground between its walls and the streams of Thames,' 2 and ministered to the sick and poor. As time went on many of them became philosophers and theologians, and the influence of Grossetête was largely fruitful in the promotion of learning among the friars.

'Oxford now rose to a position hardly inferior to Paris itself as a centre of scholasticism. Roger Bacon, Duns Scotus, and Ockham were among its scholars; and they were followed by a crowd of teachers hardly less illustrious in their day.'

Alas, not all the influence of Grossetête nor his own almost unequalled abilities could protect Bacon from the hatred and

¹ P. 309.

² See J. R. Green's *History of England*, VI. iii., and also the article on 'Oxford Five Hundred Years Ago' (C.Q.R., July 1911, p. 364).

jealousy of his own Order, and from persecution and imprisonment. Under Pope Alexander V (himself a member of the Order), the power of the friars rose to such a height as (in 1409) to threaten a disruption of the Church.¹

'He issued a bull investing the Friar Preachers (and others) . . . in the full uncontrolled power of hearing confession and granting absolution in every part of Christendom. . . . This bull was not only the absolute annihilation of the exclusive prerogatives and pretensions of the clergy, but it was ordered to be read by the clergy themselves in all the Churches of Christendom. They were to publish before their own flocks the triumph of their enemies, the complete independence of their parishioners of their authority, their own condemnation for insufficiency, their disfranchisement from their ancient immemorial rights.'

To most of us this state of things has been made familiar by the satires of Langland and the poems of Chaucer. We see, in the exquisite portrait of the 'pooré parson of a toun,' how completely Chaucer's sympathies were on the side of the parochial clergy. The parish priest had little chance against the wandering friar, who combined in his person the functions of preacher, leech, news-monger, and sensational novelist. His figure rises before us in all its comfortable obesity as it may be seen in many of our cathedral sculptures to this day. He is shrewd and ready of tongue, and pays his court to the fair sex, in great contrast to St. Francis himself, who was scarcely ever known to raise his eves to a woman's face. He likes his little luxuries, and has a keen ear for the clink of silver. He is a perfect magazine of small women's wares. He has an inexhaustible fund of songs and stories. He very much prefers rich penitents to poor ones, and gauges the sincerity of a man's repentance by the amount of his offerings.

> 'Full swetély heard he confession, And plesant was his absolution; He was an easy man to give penánce There as he wist to han a good pittance;

¹ See Milman's Latin Christianity, Book xiii. ch. 5.

For unto a poure order for to give Is signé that a man is wel yshrive; For, if he gave, he dorsté make avant ¹

He wisté that a man was repentant;
For many a man so hard is of his herte
He may not weep although him soré smerte,
Therefore instead of weeping and of praieres
Men mote give silver to the pouré freres.
. . . For though a widow haddé but a shoo
(So pleasant was his *In principio*,)
Yet he would have a ferthing ere he went.
His pourchas was well better than his rent.' 2

The caricature of the Friar in the Sompnour's Tale (there is a bitter feud between them) is doubtless overdrawn, but the discourse he is supposed to utter is probably not unlike the popular sermons of the day.

It is only fair in recalling such pictures as these to contrast with them Manzoni's delicate and beautiful portrait

of Padre Cristoforo, in I Promessi Sposi.3

The ambition of the friars and monastic orders to outdo one another in the size and splendour of their buildings was another feature entirely opposed to the spirit of St. Francis. One can only hope that in the peace of Paradise he has never become aware of much that was done under the sanction of his name.

If we ask ourselves where was the initial mistake in the whole system, we perhaps may reply that it was in the encouragement of begging as a profession. The original

- ¹ Affirmation.
- 2 $\it{I.e.}$ he made a considerable profit on the district which he, as it were, 'farmed out.'
- ³ It is rather curious how in Shakespeare's plays the 'parson' or curate of the parish is usually the butt for good-humoured raillery (Sir Oliver, As you Like it; Sir Topas, Twelfth Night; Sir Hugh Evans, Merry Wives), whereas the friar is taken quite seriously in Romeo and Juliet, whom he marries in his cell, and also in Much Ado about Nothing. To Friar Laurence is assigned one of the most beautiful and characteristic speeches (on herbs and simples) in the former play, and in Measure for Measure the 'votarists of St. Clare' also meet with sympathetic treatment.

idea of Francis was that the members of his Order should work for their living, and only be allowed to beg when it was absolutely necessary.

'[François] n'a pas songé à créer un ordre mendiant, il a créé un ordre laborieux. . . Travailler était la règle, mendier était l'exception. . . . Sans doute, ce zèle dura peu, et déjà Thomas de Celano intitule un de ses chapitres: Lamentation à Dieu sur la paresse et la gloutonnerie des frères: mais il ne faut pas que cette prompte et inévitable décadence nous voile la saine et virile beauté des origines.' 1

This extract is followed by a delightful account of Brother Giles (Aegidius) and his feats as a water-carrier, basket maker, wood-cutter, sexton, and a gatherer of grapes, olives, and walnuts, and finally as kitchen-sweeper. Life must have been full of entertainment in those days, and many a tram-car driver or lift-worker, to say nothing of a shop-walker or booking-office clerk, might envy the early Franciscans. But as time went on begging was exalted by the friars into a fine art. And this led to the friars seeking popularity by unworthy means:

'Rem facias; rem Si possis recte, si non, quocunque modo, rem.'

Again, the attitude of Francis towards the existing clergy was always one of reverence.² The last thing that would have occurred to him would have been to interfere with them in the performance of their duties.³ But it is easy to see how the hands of the Papacy were strengthened

¹ Sabatier, Vie de S. François, pp. 138-9.

² See Fr. Cuthbert, op. cit., pp. 118, 165, 170, 380 (Francis' last Testament).

³ In the Sompnour's Tale the sick man whom the friar visits is made to say:

'But shew to me all thy confession.'

- 'Nay, quoth the sické man, by Saint Simon

I have been shriven this day of my curat;

I have him told all holly mine estat.'

- Needeth no mo to speke of it,' sayth he:

'But if me list of mine humilitee,

Yeve me then of thy gold to make our cloister,' etc.

by having important and influential bodies of men in direct dependence upon itself, and caring little for the parochial or diocesan authority.

The opposition created by such a state of things came to its climax in the person of John Wycliffe. 'I shall not die, but live,' he said, when stricken down by illness, 'and declare the works of the friars.' And though the cause of Wycliffe's opponents triumphed for the time, yet the seed sown by him could not fail to bear fruit. The Mendicant Orders had had their day, at least in England. They had done good and noble work, though intermixed with much baser material, and one may apply to them the words of St. Paul—the wood, hay, and stubble were destroyed, but the gold, silver, and precious stones remained. We must not forget how deep a debt we owe to them, for the care of the poor, the promotion of learning, of art and architecture, and of natural science, and for many bright examples of holy life. But foremost among all those examples will always remain that of the 'poor little man' of Assisi whose name they bear.1

We may conclude with one more characteristic utterance of St. Francis.²

One day Brother Masseo asked him how it was that the world ran after him as it did seeing that he was neither noble, handsome, nor learned. At these words Francis rejoiced in spirit with eyes uplifted to heaven; then on his knees he thanked and praised God—'Wouldst thou know,' he replied to Masseo, 'why this is so?'

'It is because in God's all-holy Eyes there is nowhere a poorer and more despicable sinner than myself, no one more miserable on all the earth. God has chosen me to put to shame the wealth and grandeur and beauty and wisdom of this world; that all may know that all virtue and all might are His, and not His creatures', and that he who glorieth may glory only in the Lord, to Whom be honour and power for evermore.'

E. Wordsworth.

¹ Since this article was written the writer has been reminded of a beautiful passage in reference to the Mendicant Orders in Dean Church's Cathedral and University Sermons on 'Failures in Life.'

² Abridged from Jörgensen, S. François, p. 108.

ART. III.—THE RELIGIOUS PHILOSOPHY OF RUDOLF EUCKEN.

I. The Life of the Spirit. By Rudolf Eucken. Translated by F. L. Pogson. 'Crown Theological Library.' (London: Williams and Norgate. 1909.)

2. The Problem of Human Life. By the same. Translated by W. S. HOUGH and W. R. BOYCE GIBSON. (London:

T. Fisher Unwin. 1909.)

3. Christianity and the New Idealism. By the same. Translated by W. R. and L. J. BOYCE GIBSON. (London: Harper Brothers. 1909.)

4. The Truth of Religion. By the same. Translated by W. Tudor Jones. 'Theological Translation Library.'

(London: Williams and Norgate. 1911.)

5. Life's Basis and Life's Ideal. By the same. Translated by A. G. WIDGERY. (London: A. and C. Black. 1012.)

6. Main Currents of Modern Thought: A Study of the Spiritual and Intellectual Movements of the Present Day. By the same. Translated by MEYRICK BOOTH. (London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1912.)

7. An Interpretation of Rudolf Eucken's Philosophy. By W. Tudor Jones, Ph.D. (Jena). (London: Williams

and Norgate. 1912.)

And other Works.

In the October number of the Church Quarterly Review Prebendary Fausset indicated some features in the proposals for reconstruction in Christian thought made by the man who more nearly than any other has taken up the mantle of Lotze in Germany-Rudolf Eucken of Jena. I do not propose to follow Mr. Fausset on those aspects, although they are the features of Eucken's teaching which come most intimately within the scope of this Review. My purpose is to draw attention to some of the broad features of Eucken's philosophy, especially where it is a philosophy of Religion in general. No apology is needed for this second invitation to the study of his writings. In Germany his

books are enjoying the widest circulation of any philosophical literature at this moment, and it has been said that in the recent new-awakened higher thought in Germany it is Eucken's influence which is the strongest of any. From outside Germany the Swedish adjudicators of the Nobel prize affixed an international hall-mark upon his reputation, and, by the insight of Professor Boyce Gibson in the first place, and of Mr. Tudor Jones more recently, by the issue of translations of most of his writings, and by his own personal visits to intellectual centres, he is now well-established in Britain and America as a principal leader of the idealists of our day.

Eucken is an Idealist in both senses of that somewhat hardly worked term. For him ultimate Ideas offer a valid road to knowledge of Reality; and, on the other hand, the Reality far exceeds the range of the actual. In the spiritual life which he takes as the proper subject-matter of philosophy we see the expression of Ideals in a continued process; not a complete achievement, but an incessant movement towards goals which in their turn must be transcended and surpassed. Further, he takes up the succession of the Absolute Idealists: God, he says, not man, is the measure and standard of the truth and the goodness of the world's movement, the ever-present source of the life which is manifested. As Spinoza places Divine Substance at the apex of his statical structure, so Eucken places One Active Spirit at the fountain-head of the whole movement which. in the name of philosophy, he sets before us. He did not attain to this position at once; there is a development from his earlier writings to those in which his thought reaches full maturity; but since he has assured himself of this high position he has insisted upon it with emphasis and with boundless variety of expression.

But Eucken dissociates himself from his predecessors of the 'classical' period of German Idealism: from the great Three whose figures, together with those of Goethe and Schleiermacher, now assume heroic proportions in the procession of Nineteenth century leaders of culture—Hegel, Fichte, and Schelling. He dissociates himself from them with vehemence. Whilst appraising their greatness with an insight that is possible only to one of their own genus, who knows that he could not have been what he is without them, he considers that their day has now passed, that they have lost direct influence upon European thought, and, German Idealist though he is, he agrees that this is as it should be.

Pre-eminently Eucken dissociates himself from them by his insistence upon the Transcendence of the Cosmic Spirit. When setting them respectfully but firmly aside, he affixes to them the title of 'Immanent Idealism,' and proceeds himself to justify Transcendence as well as Immanence. For him it is impossible to accept the actual processes which the history of the world discloses as even a conceivably complete result of idealistic reflexion; it is impossible for him to allow that the Cosmos, even the spiritual Cosmos, is God. The classical Idealists were, if not explicitly Pantheist, at least Pantheistic; and all sorts of untenable consequences flowed from this fundamental error. When Fichte was led by his principles to identify the moral order, as it is conceived by the modern mind, with the Divine order, and when Hegel gradually conducted the processes of Spirit so as to identify them with the stream of thought proceeding from Greece and Rome through early and mediaeval Christianity to a culmination in the philosophical and religious idealism of the German mind of the early Nineteenth century, we see why Eucken, on behalf of humanity at large, renounces these issues as intolerably limited, and on behalf both of the fullness of ideals and of the infinity of Cosmic Spirit protests without reserve. By that stupendous claim Man had become God: the Pantheism had become Humanism; and even within humanity it had become almost local: at any rate so limited that the larger part of the life of man lay outside it, whilst external Nature was left in remoteness as an irreclaimable waste. Eucken now holds firmly to the Transcendence of Spirit: the unmanifested Spirit is an inexhaustible source of fresh forces, and by each new resort to it the spirit of man derives power for ever richer activities and life. Immanence is there, of

course: this is never in question, it belongs to the genus Idealism; but the totality of finite spiritual life, expanding though it is, can never express the fulness of the true Infinite.

Another signal difference from the Idealists of the classical period is Eucken's appeal from the partiality of their views of the nature of Spirit itself: the moralism of Fichte, the intellectualism of Hegel, and the mysticism of Schelling, alike fall under condemnation on this head. richer compass of spirituality is laid open before us by Eucken. In his conception he includes self-consciousness and the unifying function of Thought, of course; but he considers the conflict of concept with concept, of theory with theory, to be an affair of outposts: for him the full personality is activity self-determining and creative, in which thinking has its part, and in which is included also, though with less emphasis, joyousness and happiness in the realm of feeling. The total manifestation of Spirit he calls life; and he chooses as the designation which best fits his philosophy Activism. Associating in the task both poets and philosophers he sets his hand to the declaration of Goethe, 'In the beginning was the Act.'

In the volume translated by the late Mr. Pogson under the title Life of the Spirit-which offers, I think, the best introduction to Eucken's philosophy—Eucken sets himself to describe the work of Active Spirit in organizing the data offered in the lower levels of being. Spirit introduces unity and connexion into what is scattered and isolated, universality into the mass of particulars, permanence into the changing. Its work is therefore creative: in comparison with the non-spiritual manifold it establishes new ranges of being. By thus fixing our attention upon our native and essential activity Eucken takes his part in that important movement of the modern mind which removes philosophy from the rôle of guiding the contemplations of a spectator: it claims for it the office of giving guidance and stimulus to the participators in the life itself. Philosophy is concerned to tell us what to do, what to choose, what to admire, as well as what to believe. The sages of old so regarded their function, and modern philosophers, especially since Lotze, are addressing themselves to this high and comprehensive task. As science is seeking to understand the laws of Nature in order to control her operations, so over the whole area philosophy is strenuously set upon discerning in the Universe laws for the guidance of life as a whole.

In pursuit of this aim Eucken regards philosophy as the task not of the individual but of the spiritual community. Philosophy is not a private meditation, but, as he himself says, 'a social introspection.' The life of the individual is of high interest and demands a share of attention, but the true scope of philosophy is social; just as in Christian theology, the treatment of the inner life of the soul is only a part of the task; even the national range is not wide enough: the problems of individual life and of the mission of Israel which occupy the Epistle to the Romans, profound as they are, must not engross the Christian's attention, which cannot be arrested until he enters upon the universal range of the Epistle to the Ephesians. In his full acceptance of the social method, however, it is only fair that we should note that Eucken is continuing the method of Fichte and Hegel, employed as it was by the one in the moral sphere and by the other in the realm of thought. Indeed in this he is vindicating them as against their contemporary, Schleiermacher, who plunged so deeply into the innerness of individuality that only with difficulty could he find a place for Sociality in philosophy and for Church Order in religion; and as against their successor Lotze, in whom a similar preponderance of interest in the individual personality produces like defects. Within the total life of the Spirit, so conceived, Eucken marks out as spheres, or 'complexes,' the special task of Philosophy as search for truth, the task of History as the record of the world's course, the tasks of Aesthetic, of Morals, and of Religion. To each of these he applies the illumination of his penetrating insight and his extraordinary knowledge of the best results of human endeavour.

The fulness of life includes, as has been said, the realm of thought. In this realm Eucken is in accord with the Absolute Idealists as against the first Master of German Idealism, Kant. He removes the ban laid by Kant, in the name of Reason, upon man's access to knowledge of the reality of the supersensible world, and accredits the claim to our possession of intuitions capable of indicating to us the ultimates of being. Beyond the perceptual and conceptual ranges arise the heights which Kant, encumbered by the trammels of much Eighteenth century thought from which he never freed himself, declared to be inacces-Eucken vindicates knowledge of what has been well called 'the higher immediacy.' Man can know what Spirit is, for he finds it in himself; and he can know it in its Cosmic range. It is from the treasury of the higher intuitions that he draws for the constructions of knowledge which have the high marks of unity, universality, necessity, and permanence. Eucken hails in Plato the doctrine of Universal Ideas as the source of Plato's profoundest influence, and he ranges himself in the great Platonic succession. He takes care also to appropriate the results of Aristotle's 'executive work,' and proceeds to associate himself with the now accepted recognition of Plotinus as the true culmination of Greek Idealism.

In the interpretation of history Eucken's conception of the life of Spirit as a richly constituted activity gives him a great advantage. He sees everywhere the current of the manifestations of Spirit in its organizing functions, and, as above indicated, hails the continual appearance of freshness and novelty as a result of this creative action. Yet I do not find that he has the courage to accept the simple consequence of his Activism by acknowledging the full reality of the time-processes of the life of Spirit. There is in him a hankering, at least, after a statical reality which would seem to be estimated as superior. Mr. Boyce Gibson commends him for setting as ultimate the conception of 'an eternal spiritual present' and for removing the element of time and change from the essence of Spirit. Here, therefore, Eucken stands separate from Lotze, who affirmed that 'God, as filling eternal time in a perfectly unchangeable way, would be a representation of no service for religious interests.' And he stands in contrast with his great compeer in France, Bergson, whose vindication of the essential reality of Duration (Durée) stands before us as an alternative offer on the part of philosophy. I confess that to myself it appears strange that Eucken's Activism has not led him to take his stand on the reality of time and change. It is all very well for Mr. Boyce Gibson to accredit Eucken with 'bi-polarism' in this and in some other fundamental points as a merit. Possibly he is right and we ought all of us to be bi-polar in our thinking about time and eternity, change and permanence. But if this is so, then Eucken's claim for Activism as the fundamental philosophy must suffer a considerable reduction when we endeavour to make our final estimate of its validity.

At the same time, we ought here to note that in this very problem Eucken explicitly assigns a special function to Christian philosophy. When he has examined the Ideas of Plato enriched by Aristotle's criticism, his view is that they tend towards timelessness, and that Plotinus completed this tendency and so closed the whole movement. But he then marks Christian thought, especially as formulated by St. Augustine, as expressly bringing the Timeless into the flow of Time, and so giving a fresh movement which has continued to our day. And if Eucken identifies himself with this Christian conception, as I understand him to do, his bi-polarism finds a deeper unity, and his philosophy has a Christian form at its centre.

This leads us to a principal problem, the relation of the finite Spirit to the Cosmic Spirit, of man to God. It is here that Eucken's full admission of the Christian conception of Incarnation within the historical movement of European philosophy comes to his aid. For in Christian philosophy the Divine is in the human, the Infinite in the finite, in such a way that both are preserved in union. This union is to be accepted without allowing the faint glory of the finite to vanish in the splendour of the Infinite, because the finite is itself of the same kind of being as the Infinite. This preservation is fundamental in Christian thought: in its earliest stages the Christian community lived simply by this belief, its earliest thinkers felt after formulations of it,

and it was Augustine's high privilege to endow it with philosophical vesture. It has been said that in accepting the union of the finite and the Infinite Eucken admits an irrationalist element into the centre of his world-view. This is, of course, an outstanding charge made against the admission of the Christian doctrine of Incarnation into philosophy; a charge which many Christian theologians do not oppose, because they fall back upon history in contrast with speculative philosophy. But the gravamen of the charge rests upon the claim to remit the final issue to a metaphysical decision. It is obvious, I suggest, that his Activism gives Eucken a great advantage in establishing his acceptance of the fundamental union of God and man. For such union is most easily conceived when we regard it dynamically; when we think of finite Spirit in its activity moving by means of the deeper inner Spirit which not only inhabits but inspires it at its centre. Finite selves are statical, to be conceived as, somehow, in relation to a statical Supreme, and together with it forming the constituents of a system at rest. Each spirit is a sphere of active processes; the finite agent receives power from the Infinite Spirit which is also in activity. It is not a union such as a spectator could behold, but a union felt in the profoundest consciousness of an active agent who is aware that his power is derived from a Power which transcends his own. The aptest metaphor is not to be sought in spatial relations such as inclusion within a larger sphere of being; but in personal relations. The finite Spirit regards itself as conscious of God, as an ambassador in all his activities is conscious of the Sovereign or of the Nation from whom all his powers are derived and which acts in and through his person.

When, therefore, we turn to history we are prepared to find fresh instances of consciousness of this union in activity. They present themselves to us either as new activities of finite Spirit proceeding by virtue of fresh appeals to the Infinite Spirit or as the Infinite Spirit infusing new intensities of power into the finite. In one respect it appears as an ascent of man; in the other, as a condescension of

God: but these are not two acts, but one. Speaking from the point of view of possibility there may be many such condescensions, and they may differ widely in degree; or there may be one, which again may be supreme in degree only, or may be the one from which others are to derive new powers as from a mediator. It is for history, not for speculative philosophy, to decide which of these possibilities has taken place. But whether one or many, it is certain that each such fresh manifestation of the Spirit yields a gain to the entire process and contributes fresh energy to the total life of the finite spiritual order. Eucken's position in this is plain. His Activism is far more effective than the statical view which takes the form of regarding Jesus Christ as a supreme 'instance' of a universal ideal. The question for Eucken is, What is His place as a creative and inspiring power in the total life of mankind? Here his reading of history leads him to a clear decision: the change effected by Christ 'is grandly described as incalculably wide, deep, and unrivalled.' The course of the spiritual life of man has been different since He came: a new door of access to Divine influence was opened by His personality; a new stream of spiritual energy has enriched the ever-flowing river. So momentous has been the new enrichment that Eucken is prepared to take over the conception of Redemption, though this is plainly a conception borrowed from another range of symbolical thought. On the historically grounded estimate of the actual consequences to humanity which have flowed from the Person of Christ Eucken stands with Ritschl, with Westcott, and with Dr. Gore. Nevertheless, Eucken is not prepared to acknowledge any difference in kind: he finds no ground for justifying the Church in its attitude of worship and the assignment of divine honours to its Founder. In different parts of his writings he wavers as to the extent to which he gives adhesion to Christian doctrine and the extent to which he conceives that it must be not only restated but fundamentally altered. But on the doctrine of the Person of Christ the issue between him and the Catholic tradition is too clearly marked for any mistake to

¹ Von Hügel (Hibbert Journal, No. 39).

be possible. Prebendary Fausset is in this respect quite accurate in assigning to Eucken's position the term 'Neo-Christianity.'

The responsibility lies upon every inquiring man to consider whether he can conceive, or in his deepest need for help in his activities can ask for, or in his tenderest affections can desire, a more elevated, a more powerful, a more completely satisfying object of love than Jesus Christ has been to some of the finest men and women of whom the world has knowledge. If he can go beyond this, surely he should hasten to make his ideal known to the world, and at the same time shew that it falls within the realm of actuality, thereby lifting the whole spiritual life of man to a higher level. But if he cannot, why stand still, wistfully looking for another? It is a fine saying of Hort's, 'The way of man is known only in so far as the way of God is known: to learn by experience the identity of the two ways is to learn the supreme lesson of life.' If, then, a man finds that it is not within his power to rise beyond Christ, why should he not trust himself to think that there is here the identity which would give us the knowledge and the power we seek? If there is a human personality which he acknowledges that he cannot surpass, why decline to recognize that here God Himself is walking with man and is establishing a way, a truth, a life, for all men and for all time?

Keeping in mind the position of Eucken as to the relation of the individual Spirit to the Divine Spirit we pass now to his view of the life of Spirit in its Social aspect. Here Eucken's position is quite clear: for him the Spirit has the full prerogative of universality. It is not the pseudo-universality of a number of similar units, each complete in itself; but the true universality of membership of a system such as is expounded with great fulness and force by Dr. Bosanquet in his Gifford Lectures. The individual is not fully before our thought for Eucken, as for Dr. Bosanquet and for many another of our leading thinkers of to-day, except when regarded as a participator in a cosmic life. In the deeper levels of man's nature, and especially in his activity, what he is and does is by reason of what he shares

with other spiritual beings and of his co-operation with them in a great total life. As his individual relationship to the Supreme is best expressed in personal terms, so it is here. The analogy of a kingdom and its Sovereign is fruitful: the laws are for all; the presence of the King is a common possession; his powers are widely shared and allotted; the life of the realm is the sphere of the activities of its members. The Christian Church has made great use of the conception of the *Regnum Dei*.

An accession of new spiritual energy may be received by an individual; and it may never pass beyond him. Or it may by him be propagated far and wide, and it is the privilege of the Church to enrich itself in this way. Or else it may be that the increase is evoked by the community: the inspirations may arise in the assemblies, the deliberations, the common worship, the combinations for active work. In these ways, open to Eucken as they are according to his fundamental Activism, we might expect from him a strong theory of Churchmanship in the religious life. He is inclined towards this, I think, and although actually he is not able to associate himself with any particular organization, he is fully of opinion that advance in the reform of Christian thought and life is a task for the collective consciousness to which any individual may legitimately aim at contributing, but which he must not expect to supplant by his own effort.

We now come to a problem which looms large in Eucken's treatment: the lower levels of life, both in our human nature and in external nature, what are these? We might have thought that in a philosophy which begins so clearly with the One Cosmic Spirit who descends into finite spirits of the same nature we were dealing with the whole universe. But now there arises before us a realm to which we are not led by Eucken on this line of descent, but which presents itself unbidden, a non-spiritual range or kind of being. We call it Nature: as physical it envelops us, as 'mere human nature' it seems to be a part of ourselves. We know how difficult it was for the Classical German idealists to take Nature into their account: how Hegel is alleged to

have treated her as a stepchild in the cosmic family; how, indeed, his high philosophy led him to a positive contempt of all that Nature can shew, even the wonders of the astronomical world being rudely described as a kind of 'rash' on the surface of the cosmos. Eucken himself alleges this contempt as a reason for renouncing Hegel's lead; but how does Nature fare in Eucken's own Activism?

Here are vast ranges of cosmic being which are accounted sufficiently honourable to be taken in hand by 'Spirit,' and atter transformation to be admitted, it would seem, even into the life. They lack high values of their own, certainly; they are manifold, particular, disconnected, conflicting; but at least they seem to have sufficient value to enable them to furnish material upon which 'Spirit' can work. Indeed, in the chapter 'Growth of Man beyond Nature' in Life's Basis and Life's Ideal, Eucken gives a very fine account of the way in which stage after stage of improvement and elevation is effected in them. But it is a very marked feature of Eucken that he regards Nature with distrust and melancholy. Sometimes he speaks sadly of its indifference to the requirements of Spirit; at others he rises to indignation, speaking of its 'alien' character, its 'opposition,' its 'hostility,' and flat refusal to submit to organization. And his general estimate of what natural civilization, even as assisted by Spirit, has so far accomplished is a very low one: 'The author's strong and painful conviction of the inadequacy and indeed the emptiness of modern civilization.'1

We are bound to ask, what is Eucken's view both of the origin and of the persistence of this alien part of the Cosmos? What has become of his Monism, his unity of the Cosmic Spirit? It seems to me that we have here the most serious deficiency in Eucken's philosophy as a system. The widespread indifference of Nature has proved the rock on which many an Idealist has suffered shipwreck before, but in Eucken's case there seems to be an inexplicable unconsciousness on his part that his bark is in peril. Apart

¹ Life of the Spirit, preface.

from physical nature the lower ranges of mental life are outside his system, and present themselves in this alien and even hostile guise. Mr. Boyce Gibson tells us that he has called Eucken's attention to this, and that the deficiency of his interest in psychology is acknowledged by him; but it is plain that the far-reaching effect of this is not appreciated by Eucken: otherwise he could not continue at once to proclaim the all-sufficiency of his Spiritualism and to give forth incessant lamentations over the immensity of the oppositions to be encountered, the grievous burden of the task of overcoming them, and the prevalence of failure over success in the history of culture and civilization. We have, however, so much that is stimulating in Eucken that we must not be exacting to the point of ingratitude. It may be sufficient here to say that his disciples must not be surprised if many turn away on this ground to France, where M. Boutroux and M. Bergson attract our interest because they plough deeply not only into the beds of our 'mere human nature,' but also into the marvels of the physical universe, in order to attain completeness for a truly Cosmic philosophy. And in Britain, if our Idealists have learned a good deal from Hegel, it has not led them towards his contempt for Nature. In this they have made just the correction that was needed. Green said of Hegel's work that 'it must be done over again,' and he led the way to the discernment of a spiritual principle in Nature which Dr. Illingworth, aided by his stores of knowledge of Christian philosophy, has done much to make luminous and convincing.

A few words may be said on two special problems: the personality of God, and human immortality. On the personality of God, there are some readers of Eucken who not only do not find that he arrives at a personal Theism, but who consider that such a Theism cannot be fitted into his philosophy. I think that this goes too far: Eucken's conception of man has most of the principal points of personality; and his conception of the union of God and man is based on the likeness between finite spirit and the Supreme. I agree with Mr. Boyce Gibson and Mr. Tudor Jones that it is the intention of Eucken to regard this union as one between

persons. Of course there are reservations to be made when transferring the conception from man to God: this must be so, and Eucken makes some. He acknowledges that the conception of God as personal is to some extent symbolical: we all acknowledge this, it is a question of degree, and on the whole I think we must allow that Eucken's doctrine goes far. At the same time I agree that it is not complete: that it does not reach to the fulness of Christian Theism, and that, in comparison, we may at times find ourselves in an almost impersonalist atmosphere. Baron von Hügel feels this, and accounts for it by considering Eucken as having made the mistake of coming too late in his exposition to the consideration of the personality of the Cosmic Spirit. I suggest that there is another reason for the deficiency. Eucken's conception of personality is imperfect in its recognition of the emotional factor in spiritual life. His Activism is too dry: the importance of the Affectional element in our life is not sufficiently appreciated, owing to the lack of genuine interest in psychology recently alluded to. For most of us it is in the reciprocity of affections that the warmth and colour of personal life is to be found, and this is true as between God and man as well as between man and man. Eucken does at times speak of the joyousness of activity, but it seems to be there as an accompaniment. This is not enough; the joy is a moving factor in the activity. the satisfaction of profound desire must be included as a property of the Ideal itself. In this limitation Eucken is somewhat at the point to which Green had reached in his advance from Hegel: Green seemed desirous of going back to Kant, but he would not have found in Kant himself a ground for adequate recognition of the claim of the emotional element in spiritual life. For the fuller advance I should refer again to those Idealists who have had intimate acquaintance with the best Christian theology, notably to Fairbairn and to Dr. Illingworth. From them we learn that whilst we can allow a value to Hegel's Das Denken ist also Gottesdienst, and a further value to Eucken's Activism, we do not attain fullness until we find, what Dr. McTaggart has found for himself, and what our Christian philosophers have made

so prominent, that the supreme element in the genesis and maintenance of personal relationship is summed up in Love. Eucken has glimpses of this, and I have marked one or two fine passages on the power of love; but, unless I grievously misread him, he does not appreciate the primary value of its influence in human life, and, so far, fails to present us with a fully based personal Theism. But I see in this not an inherent inconsistency, but a defect, and one which there is no reason that Eucken should not himself remedy if he should ever convince himself of the need for so doing.

Eucken has given his explicit treatment of the problem of Immortality in an article in the Hibbert Journal, and his treatment is of interest not only in itself, but as a good illustration of his scope and his limitations. He notes the prevalent shrinking of interest in the Beyond due to absorption in the attractions of the present life. His own Activism leads him to give a considerable measure of approval to this tendency; there is no pressing need for postponement to the future for any man who is fully engaged already in working for a noble cause: the life of the spirit is replete with interests even now. Yet that strong sense of the unexplained oppositions and obstructions to the life of the spirit which so strongly marks Eucken's mood points beyond the range of this life. From Naturalistic culture he could not expect much owing to the deficiency of his sympathy with Nature, but even with the elevating influence of all the spiritual philosophies and all the religions the total life of humanity is far from being either elevated or harmonious. The failure of history to yield satisfaction impels Eucken as an Idealist to look beyond the boundaries of the culture and civilization of this life if his ideals are not to fall frustrate.

As a ground for the hope of immortality he holds that reliance upon the indestructibility of energy is too general to meet the case, and we should add that from his own principles it is too remote from the highest kind of life. The ground must be sought in something unique in human personality. Will Reason serve? Eucken carefully

¹ No. 24.

examines its claims, but thinks that we may learn its insufficiency for this purpose from Aristotle's conclusion against personal immortality. Does the moral life demand it? We have Kant's emphatic assurance that it does, but Eucken shares the general view that Kant's position on this question is somewhat artificial and too much implicated in his Eighteenth century limitations to be of value to us to-day. Is the existence of a strong desire for continuance an adequate ground? Neither can this justify itself sufficiently for Eucken.

For himself he turns to his own conception of Spirituality: and here he pushes his thought towards the permanence and timelessness of ultimate reality. As we saw when considering his view of the Cosmos, so with the soul he does not think that ultimate reality is reached until we are in the presence of the unchanging and eternal. It is the possibility of participation in this which gives him the ground of the hope in immortality. This is in accordance with the fundamental tendency of his Idealism, as we have seen. And as in reference to the Cosmos its movement and progress are relegated to secondary and temporary status, so here, not only is the body to be left behind, and the whole compass of psychical life on the lower levels, but the life of the spirit itself is to pass from movement and energy to 'a new and timeless order of being.'

The article referred to shews us once more the deficiency in Eucken's psychology in the matter of the Feelings and Affections. He does not really press the argument from Desire as it deserves to be pressed, and as it is felt as the principal incentive to belief in a future life by so many men, perhaps by the majority. A review of the literature in which this hope has been expressed shews that it is the peremptory demand of the profoundest personal Affections that they be not thwarted and rendered vain which gives the nerve to the hope: personal love between man and man and between man and God, and, finally, between God and man, for we may even dare, with Lotze, to cherish the hope of being loved by God. The unquenchable longing gives rise to a Quis separabit? which awakens the most

energetic affirmations of immortality that are on record. In the absence of this potent factor it is not surprising that Eucken's argument for immortality leaves us cool: the thinness of the personal atmosphere here is depressing. In his Theism, as I have said, there is something of the same deficiency, but in my judgement the factors which he includes are rich enough to entitle him to be enrolled as a teacher of personal Theism. But in the situation created by the problem of human immortality we feel that the future of man, trembling as it were on the narrow edge between annihilation and eternity, depends wholly upon the fulness of the personality in which we believe, and that for any deficiency here no such compensation is possible as there is in the conception of God in His ineffable majesty and splendour beyond conception.

After these reflexions upon the spiritual idealism of Eucken it would be inexcusable to refrain from a tribute of admiration and gratitude for its noble contribution to the philosophy of religion. It is a presentation on a large scale of the life of the Spirit; with wide spaces and long vistas into the history of the soul and of spiritual humanity under the continual guidance and inspiration of the Divine. It is illuminated by the conceptions which are at his command from his prolonged and penetrating studies of the great thinkers in the European tradition, including many of the great teachers of Christian theology. Its deficiency —and who is encyclopaedic?—lies in the lack of appreciation of the fair qualities of the physical world and the still fairer qualities of the ordinary life of what Eucken calls 'mere humanity.' But where spirituality more manifestly exhibits itself Eucken is at once at home; and so he sets before us the rich displays of spiritual energy in Morals, in Art, in Culture, and in Religion. And in so doing he calls to his aid not only the great thinkers whom he knows so well, but at least some of the great poets—Dante, Goethe, Schiller

In his review of Great Thinkers he has the following saying upon Plato:

^{&#}x27;It has not been those thinkers who have hastily seized

upon a simple unity and have fortified their position against all possible contradictions who have exerted the profoundest influence, but those who have allowed different tendencies to conflict strongly with one another and to expand themselves fully: by this means they have started a self-accelerating movement, an inner forward impulse of life.'

Let us offer this sagacious utterance as our tribute to Eucken himself, both in his aim and in his achievement.

It will not, I trust, be narrowing our outlook if I close with a few observations upon our capacity in Britain for understanding and appraising Eucken's Idealistic philosophy of Religion. I make bold to suggest that both in philosophy proper and in philosophy of Religion the leaders whom we revere have evoked a power of spiritual apprehension in Britain which enables us to be amply receptive of the best elements in Eucken's thought. In most of its cardinal features it is, in fact, already our own. We may, indeed, venture to claim that our philosophy of Religion has some of the specific features which we miss in Eucken's.

It is not in vain that within the last two generations Green at Oxford and John Grote at Cambridge and Edward Caird at Glasgow and Oxford have taught in our schools of philosophy; that Maurice and Hort and Westcott, John Caird and Fairbairn and Dr. Illingworth have led our schools of theology, whilst Tennyson and Emerson and Browning have enriched our literature. From these and from many another we have received a spiritual education which enables us in Britain to give cordial welcome to the many fundamentals in Eucken's philosophy of Religion which we make bold to declare are already in our possession. and also to expand our boundaries to make room for what in him we discern to be new. It is due to these high influences that we can rejoice in our ability to share with the great German Idealist in that onward and upward movement of the spiritual life which he has nobly and richly set before the opening Twentieth Century.

A. CALDECOTT.

ART. IV.—RELIGIOUS TEACHING IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS.

- I. The Practice of Instruction: A Manual of Method, General and Special. Edited by J. W. ADAMSON, Professor of Education in the University of London. Second Edition, revised. (London: National Society. 1912.)
- 2. The Teacher's Craft in Church and School. By M. M. PENSTONE, HETTY LEE, M.A., and R. HOLLAND. (London: National Society, 1912.)
- 3. Scripture Training in Secondary Schools. Papers read at a Conference held in Cambridge, 10-13 April, 1912. Edited by N. P. Wood. With Preface by F. C. BURKITT. (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1912.)

THERE can be no doubt that up to the present day the religious teaching in many schools has not been adequate. This has not indeed been the case universally. The present writer can look back to having received teaching nearly as good as was possible during his school days. Anyone who takes part in the general examination of schools in Scripture knowledge will find that there are individual boys whose knowledge is excellent, and there are schools where admirable instruction is given, side by side with others where the religious teaching is of an entirely unintelligent character. But although there are some exceptions, there can be no doubt that the tendency in many schools, especially those which are much too dependent upon examination results, is to neglect religious teaching and allow it to be crowded out or to teach it in an unintelligent manner. It is therefore a matter of real interest that a movement should have been undertaken to improve the general character of the instruction given, and the present article, to which several different writers have contributed, is an attempt to supply suggestions as to the character of such teaching. It is written not from the point of view of schools but from the point of view of the theologian. It is not based on any but the most rudimentary acquaintance with the mechanism of school teaching. The object of the article is to suggest the theological ideas which underlie such teaching, and the books which the school teacher might be expected to use. The application of these ideas to the circumstances of school life must be left to those better qualified.

T

It may be convenient first to inquire into some of the conditions which have made religious teaching inadequate. and the primary reason that must be given is the insufficient training of the teachers. It is quite impossible to expect an average man to give rational instruction in a subject of which he has no knowledge, which he has never been taught in an intelligent or interesting way himself and is merely expected to get up somehow or other for his pupils. And this takes us back to the failure of the Universities to do what might have been expected of them. Both Oxford and Cambridge have made religious knowledge part of the compulsory work for the degree; this might quite well have been taken advantage of to give rational and intelligent instruction in the subject, and it is difficult to conceive a more important opportunity lost than that offered. It is, of course, really part of the failure of both Universities to provide a good pass degree for their students. but the examination in the Rudiments of Faith and Religion used to be taken up by Honours men as well as by pass men, and it is a standing disgrace to all those concerned in its management that it should have been of such an entirely unintelligent character. It was looked upon by most of those who went in for it as a mere disciplinary regulation which had to be got over with the smallest amount of effort. No attempt was ever made by the examiners to give an opportunity for the exhibition of real knowledge on the part of those who had to pass it. Some colleges attempted to teach for it in a more intelligent way, but the lectures rarely raised any interest on the part of the undergraduates, and those who were not able to pass without assistance had recourse to coaches, some of whom were blasphemous in their methods. The average pass man who did not take a professional interest in ecclesiastical matters might go through Oxford—a place where some of the best theological teaching and thought of the time was being carried on—without coming in contact with it in any way at all. Then he would go down to a school and be suddenly expected to give instruction in religious knowledge without having the slightest idea of what he ought to teach and without ever having been encouraged to think about his own religious opinions or the basis of his conventional morality.

Another cause of the badness of the teaching lies in the fact that the stimulus for encouraging religious instruction has so often been the examination. The present examination system causes continuous difficulties. Often the reputation of a school will depend entirely upon the number of passes in different examinations. It is inevitable, especially with the weaker boys, that the whole pressure of the school should be put on training them in just the subjects which are necessary to pass the examination. Anything, therefore, not necessary will go to the wall, and it will be found that in many cases, as with the London Matriculation, religious knowledge has to suffer. If, on the other hand, it is included in the examination system, immediately a 'cram' instruction up to the limits of the examination becomes common. An instance may be given by the Oxford Local Examinations. Quite rightly from some points of view, that examination makes the paper in religious knowledge compulsory. If that is done it is necessary, of course, that the standard should not be too high a one. In recent years, for some reason or other which it is difficult to fathom, the Old Testament books selected have been Ezra and Nehemiah—certainly two of the most jejune books for conveying any form of religious training. Two results of that have come under the present writer's

notice. There was one school where no religious instruction was given at all except in the form which prepared for the Oxford Locals, and there the work was confined to the study of Ezra and Nehemiah. The other case was a girls' school where every effort was being made to make the instruction as intelligent as possible. The writer heard a capable mistress teaching these two books. She had taken the trouble to explain to the girls the whole structure of the writings and the difference between the Aramaic and the Hebrew portions. She had connected the history with that of the general history of the times. She had shewn its significance for the development of Judaism, and had brought all the moral instruction possible out of this extremely unhuman work. It must have been a considerable disappointment to the girls thus trained to have to do a paper which demanded nothing but the most unintelligent knowledge of the text.

A third difficulty undoubtedly arises from religious differences and religious doubts. A feeling of conscientiousness will often check and restrain teachers when dealing with children belonging to different religious bodies. They will be frightened of encroaching beyond the limits which are legitimate, and interfering with religious convictions, while their own personal doubts will prevent them from speaking with interest and conviction on what should only be taught from a serious point of view. A sufficient amount of intelligent and thoughtful instruction would minimize both these difficulties. If the teacher only once knew his own mind clearly on religious questions, he would have little or no difficulty in knowing whether or no he could conscientiously give religious instruction. If he knew a little more accurately about the distinctions of the various religious bodies, he would have less timidity. If he had only been trained sufficiently to realize the interest of his work he would be able to emphasize all those points where hesitation and doubt need not come in, and to give a sound basis of religious instruction.

We may sum up what we have to say under this heading by two observations. The first is that in no religious instruction must the examination stimulus be the prominent influence. The teaching must in all cases be the important point, the examination, if there is one, must be subordinated to the teaching. The other is that if the religious instruction is given by teachers of adequate knowledge and real conviction it will be the most interesting part of the work of the school. If not, it will be as unattractive as many boys have often found it.

Π

We must now turn to the conditions under which this teaching will be given in boys' secondary schools.

There are two types of schools which we have to consider: those definitely connected with some religious body, and those which are what is called undenominational. great bulk of our Public Schools are definitely connected with the teaching of the Church of England. The vast majority of the boys that go to them are, nominally at any rate, adherents of the Church of England. The boys are prepared for confirmation at their schools and regularly attend school chapel. In some few it has been found necessary to make arrangements for those who do not wish to take part in the regular religious teaching, and that is always possible. But practically in the great bulk of such schools there is no real religious difficulty at all. In schools of this kind, of course, the religious teaching might be made, without any great expenditure of time, thoroughly satisfactory. Religious teaching in the Church of England school ought to mean first of all a sound and intelligent knowledge of the Bible-of course at the present day the Bible in connexion with modern thought-and it will be quite right that through the Bible most of the religious instruction should be given. Secondly, it will mean a sufficient, but not necessarily profound, knowledge of what Christianity means—the essentials of its doctrinal teaching. Thirdly, it means the training of the boy in Christian morality. And, fourthly, he should receive some knowledge of the religious life of the Church to which he belongs. That

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means that he must have such an intelligent knowledge of the Prayer Book and of the history of the Church as to enable him to take part in its services as an educated and

not an uneducated worshipper.

The other type of school is the undenominational. these schools were really undenominational in the strictest sense of the word the position would be an impossible one. As a matter of fact, that is, of course, not the case. Undenominationalism is a name given for a certain compromise thoroughly English in its character. It has been devised as the basis of teaching in schools where there are large numbers of Churchmen and Nonconformists together. It is based upon the acceptance of the Bible, and on the fact that the great body of the parents and of the children are, in the conventional sense of the word, orthodox Christians. None can for a moment defend the principle as logical. It is in the opinion of the present writer based upon a wrong view of what religion is. But there is no serious difficulty in a conscientious man adapting himself to the system and giving, on the basis of the Bible, teaching which will be fair to the religious convictions of all, or the vast majority of his pupils, which will impart to them a sound historical knowledge of the sources of the Christian faith, and will be adequate so far as it goes, though not sufficient. Where it is possible, of course, a school of the first type represents the right point of view, whether it be Church or Nonconformist; for religious teaching should be associated with religious life and religious worship. Where such a school is not possible every effort should be used to make the Scripture teaching as good as possible. The great bulk of the boys trained in secondary schools in this country should go out into the world with a sound knowledge of the Bible and intelligent views about it, and that would be an immense gain to their general education as well as to their religion.

What we would emphasize is the immense value of the Bible as a means of education. Let us take first its historical value. One of the main duties of education is to make the boy as he grows up acquainted with the general

outline of the history of the human race; to enable him to realize what it has cost to make humanity what it is; to enable him to look at his own age from the point of view of other ages. Now in the Bible we have ready to put into the hands of every boy original documents as old as any in the world, which will enable him to study the thoughts and ideas of different periods in the world's history from their own point of view. It has been said that what made the old race of English administrators so capable in dealing with the various peoples of the world with whom they came in contact was that they had been trained in the Bible. Homer and Herodotus, and so adapted themselves unconsciously to the thoughts and ideas of people in every stage of development. Studied side by side with classical literature the interest of the Bible becomes increasingly great. The history which is depicted by the Classical historian from the one side is represented by the Biblical historian from We can see what Cyrus was, not only as the other. depicted by Herodotus, but by Isaiah. We can study the diary of a traveller going from place to place throughout the Roman Empire, coming in contact with its life and organization in every form. Not only, too, does it give us a picture of human history at different periods, but it gives us also a purpose and unity to history. If we want to learn without pedantry on a basis of reality the unity of history, we cannot do better than build it up on the history of the preparation of the world for the coming of Christ, and the history of the world developed under the influence of Christianity. To every intelligent person Biblical study is of profound interest, and particularly to the classical student.

The teaching of the Bible will then have a natural place in all education. But secondly we need moral teaching. It is characteristic of the present time that it should be attacking ethical problems with very great thoroughness, that we should have ethical societies devoted to the consideration of them, and that we should have attempts made by those who quite conscientiously feel unable to adhere to the Christian religion to build up a rational basis

of ethical teaching. We must honestly confess that we do not believe that such attempts will be successful. The direct teaching of morals has never been of great value. Moral teaching should be largely indirect, and the best basis of moral teaching is still the Bible. No doubt it can be supplemented by the lives of good men of every age, and classical antiquity rightly used will give other and supplementary points of view; but it is just because the teaching that it gives is not too conscious that it is most effective. That is still more the case with regard to the religious teaching. There are a good many things which, if taught too directly, lose their efficacy. That is probably the case as much with religion as with anything, and the reason is this, that compared with the infinite reality all direct religious instruction must be inadequate. It attempts to be consistent, and it becomes one-sided. The Bible is bigger and greater than any single human point of view, and therefore the ultimate impression made by an acquaintance with it will produce a broader and, in the true sense of the word, more liberal theology than any acquaintance with systems alone. We believe profoundly that the teaching of the Bible in a wise and intelligent manner should be the basis of religious education, and that this in itself will be a valuable, though not complete, religious education.

We pass on to the more directly religious subjects: the teaching of Christian Doctrine, the teaching of Church History, and the teaching of the Prayer Book. In most schools all the more intimate side of this teaching will naturally be left to the confirmation classes and the school chapel. But it must be recognized by everyone when they think of it that some sort of intellectual instruction beyond this is of definite value. When people attack dogmatic religion or Christian dogma they really do not know what these words mean. It is thought that they mean narrow and pedantic definitions of what people cannot understand. If people were to appreciate the fact that theology meant careful thought on such subjects as God and Jesus Christ and human life and destiny, they

would realize that it is not trivial or unimportant, and would understand that these are subjects which everyone as he grows up ought to think over, and on which he should form sound and healthy opinions. Exactly how far a boy can profitably be taught these things must be left to the experience of individual teachers. But boys are all taught something of the sort at confirmation time, and we only ask that this teaching should be based on real knowledge. For instance, some acquaintance with the history and meaning of the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds might be part of the religious instruction of a school.

Then there is the subject of Church History, whether the universal Church History or the particular history of the English Church. This is intimately associated with the ordinary secular history, some of which is taught in schools, and we want rather to widen the scope of that history than to give purely narrow and specialized teaching. It has been already suggested that the proper view which Church History teaches is that ancient history is the preparation of the world for the coming of Christ, and that modern history is the history of the world under the influence of Christianity. If we recognize that, then Church History takes its proper place so far as time and opportunity allow in the life of the school.

Again, there is the Prayer Book. We have known schools in which the children have put into their hands a copy of the First Prayer Book of Edward VI. This at once brought them in contact with an historical document. It may be presumed that the great majority of those in the Public Schools ought throughout life to be in the habit of attending worship in the Church of England. Some of them will be more, some of them less, religious; is there any reason why during their school-time they should not have teaching which will make their worship intelligent instead of unintelligent? Some knowledge of the history of the Prayer Book links itself on closely and directly to the history of the English Church, illustrating different stages in that history. The knowledge of its sources takes us at once back to the mediaeval Church and its services. A teacher who knows

anything of his subject has in fact a document which he can use to make real the history of the Church, and which he can explain so as to be real for those who use it. Some knowledge of the history of the Prayer Book may thus reasonably be part of the teaching of a school.

III

We come now to greater detail, and first to the Old Testament.

For younger boys most depends upon the teacher. They need few books except the Revised Version. That should be used as being more accurate than the Authorized Version, also because it is printed in paragraphs and looks more like an actual book to be read and enjoyed, and because some of the Poetical Books are arranged in lines of poetry. That arrangement should have been made in other parts also, especially in the Prophets. An edition of the Old Testament in English is much needed, in which the books should be arranged in the divisions and order of the Palestinian Canon, the ancient titles restored and the poetical passages shewn as poetry. Criticism is the attempt to recover chronological order and to remove modern prejudices, and in such an edition as this half the battle of criticism would be already won. Something of the kind is done in Montefiore's 'Bible for Home Reading,' and in another arrangement of like character (used in Westminster School) by Canon Glazebrook, but these have more of the modern theorist in them. Still they might be used by boys, and it would be well that they should have a short history of Israel written from the modern point of view. The present writer prefers Dr. Foakes Jackson's 'Biblical History of the Hebrews'; it is less professionally finished than others, but seems to him fresh and independent.1 both Ottley and Wade are found useful.

¹ Dr. Foakes Jackson has lately published a shorter history for junior forms. It is simple and good for quite small boys, but in a Public School the original work is still to be preferred.

Elder boys should read Robertson Smith's 'Old Testament in the Jewish Church' and 'The Prophets of Israel,' and although the basis of criticism in Stanley's 'Lectures on the Jewish Church' is Ewald's position, and therefore old-fashioned, they should certainly read this too. It will delight them by its enthusiasm, spiritual insight, large sympathy, and (so influential with a clever boy) its style. Indeed, these lectures are a good antidote to the view of mere critical curiosity. Even with an imperfect criticism Stanley has gained reason and freedom, and has grasped what really matters. He will always delight, instruct, and deepen. He has become classical.

The teacher should know these three books intimately. Though the study of the Old Testament always moves, Robertson Smith still gives, in 'The Old Testament in the Tewish Church,' the best introduction to criticism, and in his 'Prophets' to the spirit of Old Testament faith. But the modern critical certainties are certain because of the great complex of diverse evidence for them, and though the pupil need not, the teacher must at least have viewed the whole. J. E. Carpenter's 'The Composition of the Hexateuch' (the first volume, since 1902 published by itself, of Carpenter and Harford Battersby's 'Hexateuch') is on sufficient scale to be readable and convincing. Having mastered the criticism of the Hexateuch he will find his way easily through the other parts of Old Testament criticism. In this Driver's 'Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament,' or Cornill's 'Introduction to the Canonical Books of the Old Testament' (English translation, Williams and Norgate), will be useful guides. A new edition of Driver is needed, especially for its lists of books. Cornill notices later work, but hardly enough of English work. A small but exceedingly good 'Short Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament' by G. H. Box (Oxford Church Text Books, 1909) should be in the hands of teachers and pupils.

A good course of lessons to begin with would be on the Prophets from Samuel to Jeremiah; for this Robertson Smith's 'Prophets' would be sufficient help. But this

might be followed by more detailed study of special books. Genesis, with Driver's Commentary (in the 'Westminster Commentaries'), might be one, and Isaiah would properly be another. For Isaiah, G. A. Smith's Commentary in 'The Expositor's Bible' will be found vivid and interesting, and Driver's little book on 'Isaiah, his Life and Times,' in Nisbet's 'Men of the Bible' series, should be read by the pupils. Jeremiah should follow Isaiah, and Cheyne's 'Jeremiah' in the same 'Men of the Bible' series (a book in Cheyne's earlier style) is even better than Driver's 'Isaiah'; its humanity is so impressive. Driver, too, has written a useful aid to the study of Jeremiah—'The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah: A Revised Translation, with Introduction and Short Explanations,' in which the paragraphs, with their brief headings and minimum of notes, give a clue to the maze of this confusedly arranged book of prophecy.

For almost all the books of the Old Testament, plain, short commentaries are now available. The Century Bible is widely appreciated. The later, and sometimes (e.g. that truly philosophical commentary of A. B. Davidson on Job) the earlier, volumes of the 'Cambridge Bible for Schools' are less popularly brilliant, but perhaps more solid. In this Cambridge series a good 'Introduction to the Pentateuch' has lately been written by A. T. Chapman; if it were thought advisable to give a special course of lessons on Pentateuchal criticism, his would be a good text-book to use. W. H. Bennett's 'The Post-Exilic Prophets' in T. and T. Clark's 'Religion and Literature of Israel' will

be found useful for the later Prophecy.

But the study of the Old Testament is much alive to-day. It is ever moving forward through additions, corrections, and speculations. If we put even such good books as those just named into a pupil's hand, and bid him learn them, he will only advance from an older to a newer prejudice, and when he finds that the newer dogma has to be corrected in its turn, he will have his father's trouble over again: besides, that way is not the way of scholarship. The pupil must be always enjoying intercourse with his teacher, and the teacher be in the living stream of inquiry. At present the

interest of things is moving into the post-exilic period, which has already proved far more varied than it used to be represented, and seems to promise a view of its relationship to the earlier theology of Israel which will modify and in many ways deepen our appreciation of many Old Testament books. The teacher must be considering these newer ideas. Cheyne's very readable little book 'Jewish Religious Life After the Exile' will introduce him to them, or Hay Hunter in his not less readable 'After the Exile.' C. Torrey's 'Ezra Studies' may also be mentioned as opening the reader's eyes to the importance of these ideas. It is, perhaps, too technical in parts to be generally interesting, and much of it is bold to rashness. But the teacher must learn to read his critics critically, for unless he leads the way a boy will never do that. However, the best book to open his eyes to the new movement will be Buchanan Gray's 'Isaiah i.-xxvii.' in the 'International Critical Commentary.' Here he will see the complexity of the task of studying a pre-exilic Prophet in a post-exilic book, and the masterly introduction will set him in the way of discovering a new simplicity for himself out of this complexity, and (if he is really an enthusiast) he will find no common pleasure in wisely directing his pupils' minds into deeper problems of prophetic theology than G. A. Smith or Driver set before them. With advanced pupils he may presently be glad to study Isaiah afresh, using Gray in his own preparation, and giving them Box's edition for their text-book. But that is rather a counsel of perfection.

A good way to rouse a sudden interest in later Judaism would be to spend a term on I Maccabees, reading and giving the class to read Bevan's 'Jerusalem under the High Priests'; it is not extravagant to call this book 'as good as a novel.' Thence they would pass naturally to the Book of Daniel, and would learn something of the forming of the Jewish Canon, and of the Apocalypse, its early and late characteristics, and its importance as a link between Old Testament and New Testament. Driver's edition of Daniel, in the Cambridge 'Bible for Schools,' is excellent critically, but the teacher would look at Charles' article on

Apocalyptic Literature in the 'Encyclopaedia Biblica,' and Burkitt's essay on the Eschatological idea in the Gospel in 'Cambridge Biblical Essays.'

Chamberlain Porter's 'The Message of the Apocalyptical Writers' is scholarly, readable, sober and religious. It goes

beyond the Old Testament.

It is not too much to assert that, without some know-ledge of post-exilic and especially apocalyptic theology, we may easily teach conventional untruths about the Messianic Hope.

Nothing has been said about the study of the Psalms. They seem hardly fit for teaching in class. It would be well if in every school chapel the new edition of the pointed (Cathedral) Psalter were used. In this Psalter we have, more perfectly done, what Westcott essayed in his pointed Psalter. The Psalms have brief, almost epigrammatic headings, suggesting their origin and their primary and mystical significances. But to all who would study or converse about the Psalter with reasonable devotion, Cheyne's 'Commentary' in one volume (1888) should be strongly recommended. He has since 1888 remodelled this in two volumes, which he has filled with his later eccentricities of textual criticism. The older book is a supreme example of terse, poetic, devout scholarship.

The Psalter brings us to the theology of the Old Testament as lying deeper than the criticism; and it is proper, therefore, to recommend A. B. Davidson's 'Theology of the Old Testament.' This is excellent. The criticism, so far as criticism has a place in it, begins already to grow old-fashioned, but (as in Stanley) this will be found to matter little, and the thoughtful study of this book (it should be often read in, rather than once read through) becomes the more valuable the more the literary problems threaten to engross our minds. For this book, as for some others of those named, the best place would be the School Library. There should be found also Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible,' the five and one volume editions, and the 'Encyclopaedia Biblica.' That Encyclopaedia is not meant for the simple, but is valuable for those

who have learned to use their critics critically. Hastings represents on the whole Old Testament study at a fixed stage; 'Encyclopaedia Biblica' shews it in that living movement of which we have already spoken. The article on 'Bible' in the new edition of the 'Encyclopaedia Britannica' should be available. Box and Oesterley's 'Religion and Worship of the Synagogue' is another general but indispensable aid to study which should be in the Library.

More valuable, of course, than any commentary would be even a slight knowledge of Hebrew. In one Public School, a master taught himself a little Hebrew in the holidays, held a voluntary class on Sundays, and enabled a dozen boys or more to read Genesis in a term or two. This might be done elsewhere. At least there should be a Hebrew Bible and Lexicon in the library. And as all boys on the classical side learn Greek and Latin, there should be a Septuagint and Vulgate.

It will be noticed that throughout we have assumed perfect freedom with regard to critical questions, and on that point we have no hesitation. As regards the teacher, he must recognize that while much which passes as criticism is at present very doubtful and uncertain, and while in some directions it will be found that extreme views will be given up, yet the position of critical freedom is one that has been attained and must not be lost. And in teaching it will be his business so to give instruction in the Old Testament as to build up his pupils' religious belief and faith on historical certainties, and not uncertainties. We have spoken of critical freedom, and by that we mean that the truth of the Christian religion is independent of the particular view that may be held as to the literary history of the Old Testament or historical accuracy of its books, the reason being that even if we were to accept the most extreme critical view it would still remain true that the Old Testament contains profound testimony to religious truth. It is the record of unique religious experiences, not only of individuals, but also of a nation. It contains the one authoritative revelation of ethical Monotheism. It records the long period of preparation for the coming of Christ, and the

earliest expectation of the people of Israel for the fulfilment of their nation's mission with the coming of Him Who was to be the very consummation of their religious instincts and their work for mankind. All these broad facts are independent of any particular view, and it should be the business of the teacher to emphasize these certainties in such a way as to make the rising generation as little affected by the new views of criticism as they are by a heliocentric system of the universe or the doctrine of evolution. No better book could be suggested for impressing these facts on ourselves and others than the first volume of Hamilton's 'People of God,' a full review of which appears in the present number.

IV

So far we have spoken in detail of the Old Testament. We must now pass to the New Testament, and here we are presented in the bulk of secondary schools where the education is classical with the Greek Testament Lesson. Why is it that this has been so often allowed to degenerate into something which is merely formal? How often has it been made an excuse for practice in Greek parsing! The reason is not far to seek. It has lain simply in the fact that the master who is expected to teach Greek Testament has never had any opportunity of studying it properly himself. Yet there have been many striking exceptions. The present writer remembers lessons of extreme interest. He was early initiated into questions of Biblical introduction by an admirable series of lectures on the authenticity of St. John's Gospel on the lines of Westcott. He remembers the interest with which he first learnt something about textual criticism. and how the Acts of the Apostles, as illuminated by Convbeare and Howson, threw a flood of light on the whole of his knowledge of the ancient world. He remembers the immense advantage of reading one of St. Paul's epistles in a commentary by Bishop Lightfoot. There can be no doubt

¹ Others will perhaps recall the keenness and interest inspired by the freshness and literary ability of Mr. John Hunter Smith's too little known 'Greek Testament Lessons.'

that the study of the Greek Testament can quite easily be made to interest every boy whose other studies make him take an interest in classical antiquity. The study of the New Testament, not necessarily in Greek, may incidentally fill up many gaps in the education of the student of Natural Science.

All will in fact depend on the teacher, and first of all he must make himself clear about his own religious position. Unless he is convinced that the revelation in the New Testament is the revelation of Jesus Christ as Son of God. he should not attempt to take the religious instruction. We have put it quite clearly in the broadest form possible. We do not ask him that he should have satisfied himself on every point of Christian doctrine. We do not ask further that he should have made up his mind on every historical question that may arise. There are many points where a wise man can recognize that suspension of judgement is right, and it will not influence his teaching. What we do ask is that he should on the broad question of religious opinion definitely make up his mind. And then next he must be interested in certain questions himself. We hardly need go into detail on the order of study in a school. It will depend upon many points. Primarily, of course, a beginning should be made with the study of some one of the Synoptic Gospels, probably St. Mark, and it should be studied side by side with the other narratives, so as to make it an introduction to the Synoptic problem, and the teacher should so arrange the work as to make it a real study of the Life of Christ. After this would come St. Luke and the Acts treated as two volumes of the same work. This would give a good opportunity of pointing out the similarity in style in the two books, and side by side with the Acts should begin the study of the Pauline epistles, the whole question of their grouping being first considered and the life of St. Paul as a whole. As regards individual epistles, we do not think that the more difficult ones, Romans, 2 Corinthians, or Ephesians, are suitable for reading in schools. We have from time to time examined boys and girls who have been taught the Epistle to the Romans, and it is obviously outside the

scope of their interest, and too difficult. I and 2 Thessalonians, I Corinthians, Galatians, and perhaps in particular Philippians, are the best books to begin with. Then from time to time other writings, especially the Fourth Gospel, might be taken. In some ways, of course, it may be an advantage to read the last quite early, as the Greek is easy, and it is desirable that everyone should have a real knowledge of its contents before he discusses the difficult questions that are raised.

We have said that the particular order is a matter of comparative indifference, but what we should desire to emphasize are the big questions underlying the study of the New Testament which the master ought to have grappled with, so as to enable him to direct the meaning of the boy's lessons. First we think there should be some acquaintance with general questions of introduction, and we should emphasize two main points: the Synoptic problem and the authorship of the Acts and St. Luke, and the authenticity of the leading epistles of St. Paul. Both these questions form admirable introductions to literary criticism, and they represent points where some sort of definite conclusion can be attained. It must be remembered that it is the greatest mistake to imagine that it is necessary to teach a schoolboy everything. His mind should be directed to certain important questions which will give him a clear starting point, and enable him to follow afterwards, if he desires. certain questions. As regards books, we suffer in England from having no adequate work of introduction to the New Testament as a whole-one which will collect together everything a person ought to know and with sound and reasonable views. Moffatt's Introduction is the most considerable we have at present, but it contains a great deal which is quite unnecessary to know, and its views are often most unreasonable. But let us emphasize here a point upon which stress has been already laid in relation to the Old Testament. We must learn to criticize our criticism. Pullan's book on the Four Gospels, Armitage Robinson's little book on the Gospels, and the Introductions by Peake and Pullan will all be found to be useful works. A book

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of more individual interest is Burkitt's 'Gospel History and its Transmission.'

Then next there is the general study of the Life of Christ. The best text-book is, undoubtedly, Sanday's 'Outlines of the Life of Christ.' but it may be supplemented by many other works. Everyone ought to have some acquaintance with Schürer's book on New Testament Times, and a copy of this should be in the School Library. It must be remembered that it is of very great educational value to a clever boy to be brought into contact with any really good book which will represent an ideal of learning. We think that the master ought to have read Schweitzer's 'Quest of the Historical Jesus.' It will teach him all the infinite variety of opinion there has been, and make him acquainted with the different questions which may be raised. A book we have always found extremely useful and stimulating to ourselves is 'Ecce Homo.' Although not entirely satisfactory from the scientific point of view, it is a book which more than any other will make the Gospels real for those who have been in the custom of accepting them in a purely conventional manner. Then, thirdly, there are all the interesting questions regarding the Acts and the life of St. Paul which have been written anew and illustrated by Sir William Ramsay. It is a great misfortune that there is not a book in modern times which will take the place of Conybeare and Howson, but the various volumes which Sir William Ramsay has written are full of vivid and stimulating interest.

And lastly there is the immense advantage which may come from reading a book of the New Testament with a thoroughly good commentary. There is a simplicity and thoroughness of learning about Lightfoot's commentaries which will always make them quite admirable as a means of introducing a clever schoolboy to real learning.

There remain various subjects which, not as regards their real importance but for the purpose of school-teaching, ought, we think, to be somewhat subordinate. We shall leave out all reference to preparation for confirmation. That will naturally be entrusted to those masters of the school who are ordained, or for some other reason are particularly qualified for the work. It is of an intimate and personal character, and must be treated somewhat differently from the intellectual training which we have in contemplation. These further subjects are Church History, Prayer Book, and Christian Doctrine.

As regards Church History, we doubt very much whether there ought to be very much separate teaching of this in schools. It ought really to form part of general history, and great care should be taken that it is not left out in connexion with the different secular periods which are studied. As regards the history of the Ancient World some reference to the parallel history of Judaism will be one of those things which will help a boy to realize the ancient world better than anything else. There is too great a tendency schools to lock up periods within certain fixed limits. It is really the result of the present examination system. Clearly it is not fair when examining schools to go outside the limits of the text-book, and clearly on the other side the master who will waste the time of his boys with what is happening in Judea when he is studying Roman History, or what is happening in Rome when he is studying Greek History, or what is happening in Egypt or in Persia or in any other part of the world, is acting foolishly. So long as the object of the teaching is to pass examinations, and the examinations are conducted on a rigid external method, so long our school teaching will continue to be unintelligent. It is the same with more modern periods. Many of the text-books which are used in schools are singularly one-sided and incomplete. The Whig tradition has left its blighting influence on the traditional method of teaching English History in particular. What is needed is not that there should be a special study of Church History, but that Church History should be taught in every period as a necessary, and in some cases the most essential, part of general history. One thing more we should insist upon. and that is, that at some period in a boy's school career he should be taught in such a way as to get a general idea of the whole sequence of history. The cut-and-dried schemes of universal history which are part, we believe, of modern French education are not what are required. The oldfashioned chronological tables had their uses. It must be remembered that history made too easy ceases to be valuable, and that the discipline of learning a certain number of dates is essential; but it is quite possible, in any school where the teaching is good, that in at least one year of his course a boy should have an opportunity of covering a very wide field of history and getting a proper sense of the proportion of events. We have already suggested how the preparation of the world for the coming of Christianity and the expansion of Christianity may well serve as the best system for giving such ideas.

The study of the Prayer Book need not be too minutely carried out, and could, of course, be left out in some schools. But in the case of those schools which are definitely connected with the Church of England, where there is a school chapel in which Prayer Book services are regularly used, a part of the school instruction in Divinity ought to give some intelligent knowledge of the history and meaning of the Prayer Book. The master will find all that he requires in Procter and Frere's 'History of the Book of Common Prayer,' and in Duchesne's 'History of Christian Worship.' For the boys the cheap editions of the First and Second Prayer Books of Edward VI. will be most valuable as historical documents, and the Prayer Book might well be studied side by side with the history of the Reformation period in England. It will have the advantage of being an illustrative and historical document.

We do not feel that the formal instruction in Church doctrine or in Christian ethics ought to be a part of school teaching. Small boys will of course learn their Catechism, and at the time of confirmation an intelligent meaning of what they have learnt will be taught them. But the great value of basing religious training on a knowledge of the Bible is that both the doctrine and the ethics are taught in a

manner which is not too formal. But that does not mean that they are not taught, and here specially comes the need of a good training, since to bring out of the book of the Bible which is being read the essential and important teaching means very considerable knowledge on the part of the teacher, for it must be well digested knowledge. For that reason we have given references in the Bibliography which follows to a considerable number of books on Doctrinal Theology which may be of help and assistance to the teacher, and to which he may occasionally refer the boys. But we do not think that in most schools at any rate it would be wise to go beyond this.

It must not be thought that the suggestions which have just been made are written with any sense of authority. They are merely suggestions, to serve those who are engaged in the practical work of school teaching in the arrangement of their course and in the choice of books. What we do feel necessary to emphasize in conclusion is the paramount importance of giving boys an intellectual basis for their religious life and of making this teaching as intelligent as the rest of the work they do. A clever boy at school learns a good deal about criticism and a good deal about science, or at any rate the results of science, and already begins to look out on the world and the practical workings of such institutions as the Christian Church. It is useless to give such a boy old-fashioned conventional teaching which has no relation to the development of modern ideas, and which he instinctively feels to be unreal. It will make a great deal of difference to the schoolboy, his life and happiness, and to the welfare of the nation whether he grows up with a sound and true philosophy of life, whether he becomes a man of religious and moral principle. In the present decay of parental authority the responsibility will lie mainly with the school, and if the schoolmaster is to be fitted for the work to be entrusted to him he must be willing to take the trouble to obtain for himself an intelligent knowledge of Christian theology and intelligent insight into his own principles of life and conduct. In asking him to do this we are not asking him to do anything which is unintelligent or uninteresting. The modern study of the theology of the books of the Old and New Testaments, of Church History and doctrine, is full of freshness and interest. Even if he has not learnt for himself at the school or the University, it will come to him with the interest of a new subject. It is more necessary and more valuable for him to work at this than some of the rather arid subjects of modern pedagogy.1

A teacher of great experience who has worked for some years

on the above lines suggests the following comments:

(i.) Before beginning such a course of O.T. as Samuel to Jeremiah, I suppose the boys would know something of earlier heroes from Joseph to David? I find those stories do not get taught at home. even if the Creation stories and the history of the Patriarchs are taught.

Also, speaking from personal experience, I do not think that the special study of one book, even Isaiah, is very beneficial lower than forms V. or VI. There i a good deal to do in the Lower and Middle School, and as in Secular History or History of any kind I think that at one period or another, preferably in the Middle School, before more detailed work is attempted, the whole must be shewn in its proportions and a bird's-eye view given of men and movements already familiar.

(ii.) In the N.T. scheme . . . you say you do not consider Romans, 2 Corinthians and Ephesians 'suitable for reading in schools.' In treating the Pauline Epistles in their groups as a whole, dealing with the circumstances and main thoughts of each, I should certainly include them and imagine you would. I am studying them in this way here with form V, who are much interested and very responsive. We have given up studying one Epistle in detail. I do not think such a study of one Epistle is nearly so profitable as a scheme of study which whets their appetite and gives them some good general grounding on which to pursue their own reading and thought. Also it tends to become too abstract.

(iii.) Personally, anyhow so far as girls are concerned, I think definite doctrine or Catechism classes while they are learning their Catechism, and before they reach the higher stages of Prayer Book knowledge and Church History are much to be commended. I agree, of course, that all good Biblical teaching is doctrinal, but I always feel it a pity to leave the Catechism at one stage and wait to have it grounded at another. . . . I think that as one goes on

OLD TESTAMENT.

(a) CLASS BOOKS.

The Old Testament in the Revised Version.

The Bible for Home Reading. By C. G. MONTEFIORE. (Macmillan.) Pt. I. 4s. 6d. net. Pt. II. 5s. 6d. net.

Bible Lessons for the Young. By M. G. GLAZEBROOK. (The Old Testament in selections from the Authorized Version.) (Rivingtons.) 2s. 6d. net.

A Short Introduction to the Literature of the O. T. 'Oxford Church Text Books.' By G. H. Box. (Rivingtons.)

is, net.

- Outlines of Old Testament Theology. 'Oxford Church Text Books.' By C. F. BURNEY. (Rivingtons.) is. net.
- The Old Testament and its Contents. By J. ROBERTSON, D.D. 'Guild Text Books.' (A. and C. Black.) 6d. net.

(b) FOR TEACHERS AND OLDER BOYS.

Notes and Outlines for Bible Lessons. By M. G. GLAZE-BROOK. (Rivingtons.) 3s. 6d. net. With Bible Lessons (see above). 4s. 6d. net. (Well prepared by a practical teacher. Can also be used as a class book if it is thought desirable to study the Bible in selections.)

The Biblical History of the Hebrews. By F. J. FOAKES JACKSON. (Arnold.) 6s. (Perhaps the best book to

begin O.T. study with.)

A Short History of the Hebrews. By R. L. OTTLEY. (Cam-

bridge University Press.) 5s.

The Old Testament in the Jewish Church. By W. ROBERTSON SMITH. (A. and C. Black.) 6s. net. (A good introduction to constructive criticism.)

The Prophets of Israel. By W. ROBERTSON SMITH. (A. and C. Black.) 6s. net. ('No lectures have ever made

Prophecy live as these do.')

The History of the Jewish Church. By A. P. STANLEY. Three vols. (Murray.) 7s. 6d. (Classical: a great spiritual book.)

teaching Divinity on 'modern lines' three points strike one more and more.—(1) The responsibility and opportunity of the teacher and the demands made upon him; (2) the real enthusiasm so easily evoked; (3) the real meaning of Inspiration and the Wonders of the Bible.

The Divine Library of the Old Testament. By A. F. KIRK-

PATRICK. (Macmillan.) 3s. (Reassuring.)

The One-Volume Bible Commentary. Edited by J. R. DUMMELOW. (Macmillan.) 7s. 6d. net. (Has been found practically useful.)

The Dictionary of the Bible. Edited by J. HASTINGS. One volume edition. (T. and T. Clark.) 20s. net.

The school library should aim at having a good Commentary on each book of the Bible, selected from 'Cambridge Bible for Schools' and 'Century Bible.'

An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament. 'International Theological Library.' By S. R. DRIVER. T. Clark.) 12s. (A valuable book of reference.)

The Book of Genesis. 'Westminster Commentaries.' By S. R.

DRIVER. (Methuen.) 10s. 6d.

The Dictionary of the Bible. Edited by J. HASTINGS. Five vols. (T. and T. Clark.) 28s. each.

An Historical Geography of the Holy Land. By G. ADAM SMITH. (Hodder and Stoughton.) 15s.

The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah. Edited by S. R. DRIVER. (Hodder and Stoughton.) 6s.

Isaiah: His Life and Times. By S. R. DRIVER. 'Men of the Bible' series. (Nisbet.) 2s. 6d.

Jeremiah: His Life and Times. By T. K. CHEYNE. 'Men of the Bible' series. (Nisbet.) 2s. 6d.

The Book of Isaiah. Edited by G. ADAM SMITH. 'The Expositor's Bible.' (Hodder and Stoughton.) Two vols. 7s. 6d. each.

The Post-Exilic Prophets. Edited by W. H. BENNETT. (T. and

T. Clark.) 6s. net.

Jerusalem under the High Priests. By E. R. BEVAN. (Arnold.) 7s. 6d.

An elementary knowledge of Hebrew will be found most valuable and is not difficult to acquire from such a book as-

First Steps in Hebrew Grammar. By M. Adler. (D. Nutt.) 25.

A study of Comparative Religion will bring out the distinctive character of Old Testament Theism. See, e.g., An Introduction to the History of Religion. By F. B. JEVONS. 'Handbooks of Theology.' (Methuen.) 10s. 6d. Or the same author's little work, The Idea of God in Early Religions, in the 'Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature.' (Cambridge University Press.) Is.

The British Museum Collections and Guides to the Egyptian Collections and to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities

(is.) should be studied.

For the general question of Inspiration, see Dr. Sanday's Bampton Lectures on Inspiration. (Longmans.) 7s. 6d. (Contain much about the O. T. Canon.) Or J. PATERSON SMYTH'S How God inspired the Bible. (Sampson Low.) 2s. 6d. (Popular.)

The People of God: an Enquiry into Christian Origins. By H. F. HAMILTON. Vol. I, 'Israel.' (Oxford University Press.) 18s. the two vols. (Much the ablest defence of the Old Testament revelation that has appeared in recent years.)

FOR SCHOOL LIBRARY.

The Composition of the Hexateuch. By J. E. CARPENTER and G. HARFORD. (Longmans.) 18s. net.

Introduction to the Pentateuch. By A. T. CHAPMAN. (Cambridge

University Press.) 3s. 6d. net.

Introduction to the Canonical Books of the Old Testament. By C. CORNILL. Translated by G. H. Box. 'Theological Translation Library.' (Williams and Norgate.) 10s. 6d.

The Book of Isaiah, i.-xxvii. 'International Critical Commentary.' By G. Buchanan Gray. (T. and T. Clark.)

125.

The Book of Isaiah (Translation and Commentary). By G. H. Box. (Pitman.) 7s. 6d. net.

Tewish Religious Life after the Exile. By T. K. CHEYNE.

(Putnam.) 6s.

Ezra Studies. By C. Torrey. (University of Chicago Press.) 8s. 6d. net.

Commentary on the Psalms (1888). By T. K. CHEYNE. (Kegan Paul.)

Theology of the Old Testament. By A. B. DAVIDSON. (T. and T. Clark.) 12s.

Religion and Worship of the Synagogue. By W. O. E. OESTERLEY and G. H. Box. 2nd ed. (Pitman.) 7s. 6d. net.

Religion of Israel. 'Century Bible Handbooks.' By A. S. PEAKE. (Hodder and Stoughton.) is. net.

Encyclopaedia Biblica. Edited by T. K. CHEYNE and J. S. BLACK. (A. and C. Black.) Four volumes, 20s. each net. (Can now be bought cheaply as a remainder.)

Encyclopaedia Britannica. New edition. Article 'Bible.'

(Cambridge University Press.)

The New Cathedral Psalter with headings. Large edition. (Novello.)

The Hebrew Bible (large octavo, Bible Society ed.).

The Septuagint, The Old Testament in Greek. Ed. H. B. SWETE. Three vols. (Cambridge University Press.) 7s. 6d. each.

The Vulgate. (Can be obtained at various prices from Burns and Oates or any second-hand bookseller.)

The Oxford Hebrew Lexicon. (Oxford University Press.) 34s. net.

NEW TESTAMENT.

(a) CLASS BOOKS.

The Text of the New Testament in the Revised Version (or parallel editions may be used and the differences marked).

The Text of the New Testament in Greek (a critical text, not the Textus Receptus), e.g. the most useful edition now is the Novum Testamentum Graece, ed. A. SOUTER. (Oxford University Press.) (Contains short Apparatus Criticus of readings.) 3s. net.

Smaller Greek Testament. Edited by WESTCOTT and HORT.

(Macmillan.) 4s. 6d.

Copies of the separate Gospels in English may be obtained from S.P.C.K. or the British and Foreign Bible Society to cut up and make harmonies of. (N.B.—Each pupil will require two copies of each Gospel.)

An English 'Harmony of the Gospels' (ed. Fuller)

can be obtained at S.P.C.K. for is.

(b) TEACHERS' CLASS BOOKS.

Outlines of the Life of Christ. By W. SANDAY. (T. and T. Clark.) 5s. (Reprinted from Hastings' 'Bible Dictionary'; useful to base a syllabus on.)

Early Sources of the Life of Jesus. By F. C. Burkitt. (Constable.) is. net. (A simple introduction to critical

questions.)

See also the list of Commentaries.

(c) SCHOOL LIBRARY.

Pastor Pastorum. By H. LATHAM. (Cambridge: Deighton Bell & Co.) 6s. 6d. (For the picture of Christ, stimulating and fresh; special emphasis on the training of the disciples as teachers.)

Ecce Homo. By Sir J. SEELEY. (Macmillan.) 4s. net; also is. 6d. (Specially valuable in emphasizing our Lord's human nature.)

History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ. By E. Schürer. Five vols. 'Foreign Theological

Library.' (T. and T. Clark.) 27s. 6d.

Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah. By A. EDERSHEIM. (Longmans.) (Very full, but very useful.) Two vols. 12s. net. In one vol., 8s. net. Abridged ed. 6s. net.

St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen. By Sir W. M. RAMSAY. (Hodder and Stoughton.) 8s. And other works by the same author for the historical background.

A Critical Introduction to the New Testament. By A. S. PEAKE. (Duckworth.) 2s. 6d. net. (For dates and

composition of books.)

The Books of the New Testament. By L. PULLAN. (Rivingtons.) 4s. 6d. (Also gives analyses, worth

the extra 2s.; on the whole the best to get.)

The Gospel History and its Transmission. By F. C. BURKITT. (T. and T. Clark.) 6s. ('Contains much interesting matter, and is written in a bright and helpful style. The general effect is to strengthen faith in the Gospel story as a whole. Some important details are, however. frankly abandoned.') Should be checked by-

The Study of the Gospels. By J. Armitage Robinson. 'Handbooks for the Clergy' series. (Longmans.)

2s. 6d. net.

The Gospels. By L. Pullan. (Longmans.) 5s. net.

(Strongly conservative and very able.)

Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament. By SIR F. G. KENYON. 2nd edition. (Macmillan.) 5s. net.

Hastings' Dictionary (one-vol. ed.) and

Dummelow's Commentary as above.

(d) Books of Reference.

Hastings' Dictionary. Five-vol. ed. (as above).

An Introduction to the New Testament. By J. MOFFATT. 'International Theological Library.' (T. and T. Clark.) 12s. (Often extreme in its conclusions.)

(e) LIST OF COMMENTARIES.

As text-books for boys the editions in the 'Cambridge Greek Testament for Schools' or the 'Cambridge Bible for Schools' will

generally be found most satisfactory. The following should be used by the master and be in the School Library:

St. Matthew:

An Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Matthew. By A. Plummer. (Elliot Stock.) 12s.

St. Mark:

The Gospel according to St. Mark. By H. B. SWETE. (Macmillan.) 15s.

St. Luke:

The Gospel according to St. Luke. By A. Plummer. 'International Critical Commentary.' (T. and T. Clark.) 12s.

St. John!:

The Gospel according to St. John. By B. F. WESTCOTT. (Murray.) 10s. 6d. Also an edition in two vols. with the Greek text. 24s.

The Acts:

The Acts of the Apostles. By R. J. Knowling. In 'The Expositor's Greek Testament.' (Hodder and Stoughton.) 28s.

The Acts of the Apostles. By R. B. RACKHAM. 'Westminster Commentaries.' (Methuen.) 10s. 6d.

I and 2 Thessalonians:

St. Paul's Epistles to the Thessalonians. By G. MILLIGAN. (Macmillan.) 12s. 6d.

Galatians:

St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians. By J. B. LIGHTFOOT. (Macmillan.) 12s.

Corinthians:

The Epistles to the Corinthians. By A. ROBERTSON. 'International Critical Commentary.' (T. and T. Clark.) 12s.

The Second Epistle to the Corinthians. By A. Plummer. 'Cambridge Bible for Schools.' (Cambridge University Press.) 1s. 6d. net.

Romans:

The Epistle to the Romans. By W. SANDAY and A. C. HEADLAM. 'International Critical Commentary.' (T. and T. Clark.) 12s.

Ephesians:

The Epistle to the Ephesians. By J. Armitage Robinson. (Macmillan.) 12s. There is also a smaller edition.

Philippians:

St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians. By J. B. LIGHTFOOT. (Macmillan.) 12s.

Colossians and Philemon:

St. Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and Philemon. By J. B. LIGHTFOOT. (Macmillan.) 12s.

Pastoral Epistles:

The Pastoral Epistles. By J. H. BERNARD. 'Cambridge Greek Testament.' (Cambridge University Press.) 3s. 6d.

St. James:

The Epistle of St. James. By J. B. MAYOR. 3rd ed. (Macmillan.) 14s. net.

I and 2 Peter and St. Jude:

The Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude. By C. Bigg. 'International Critical Commentary.' (T. and T. Clark.) Ios. 6d.

2 Peter and Jude. By M. R. JAMES. 'Cambridge Greek Testament.' (Cambridge University Press.) 2s. 6d. net.

St. John's Epistles:

The Epistles of St. John. By B. F. WESTCOTT. (Macmillan.) 12s. 6d.

The Apocalypse:

The Apocalypse of St. John. By H. B. SWETE. (Macmillan.) 15s.

CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE.

A. CLASS BOOKS.

The Church Catechism.

The Text of the Creeds. (The original Latin and Greek should be studied.)

B. Teachers' Class Books.

I. THE CREEDS.

The Creed of the Christian. By C. Gore. (Hibberd.) Is. (Would serve for an outline.)

The Historic Faith. By B. F. WESTCOTT. (Macmillan.) 4s. 6d. and 6d.

The Apostles' Creed. By A. E. Burn. 'Oxford Church Text Books.' (Rivingtons.) Is. (For the origin of the Creeds.)

II. CHRISTIAN DUTIES.

The Sermon on the Mount. By C. Gore. (Murray.) 3s. 6d. and 6d.

The Decalogue. By Miss E. Wordsworth. (Longmans.) 4s. 6d. (Suitable for educated mothers.)

The Ten Commandments. By R. W. DALE. (Hodder and Stoughton.) is. (Congregationalist.)

III. PRAYER.

Prayer and the Lord's Prayer. By C. Gore. (Wells Gardner.) Is. (See also under 'Prayer Book.')

IV. THE SACRAMENTS.

Suggestions for a Syllabus in Religious Teaching. Ed. for Church Schools by G. B. AYRE. (Longmans.) 2s. (Pp. 126-158 and appendices.)

The Church Catechism. By W. C. E. NEWBOLT. 'Library of Practical Theology.' (Longmans.) 5s. (Found useful to give ideas for a class of elder children.)

Useful suggestions for a syllabus might be found in The Catholic Religion. By V. STALEY. (Mowbray.) Is. (Jeremy Taylor's Holy Living might be referred to.)

C. SCHOOL LIBRARY.

The Thirty-Nine Articles. By E. C. S. GIBSON. (Methuen.) 12s. 6d. (An excellent introduction to a serious study of theology.)

Personality, Human and Divine, and other works. By J. R. ILLINGWORTH. (Macmillan.) 6s. Sewed. 6d. (Form a series giving a good outline of theology.)

Lux Mundi. Ed. C. Gore. (Murray.) 2s. 6d. net.

Holy Baptism. By Darwell Stone. 'Library of Practical Theology.' (Longmans.) 5s.

The Holy Communion. By Darwell Stone. 'Library of Practical Theology.' (Longmans.) 5s.

The school library should aim at having at least one standard work on each of the main articles of the Creed.

D. Books of Reference.

A Manual of Theology. By T. B. STRONG. (A. and C. Black.) 7s. 6d. net.

An Introduction to the Study of the Creeds. By A. E. BURN. (Methuen.) 10s. 6d.

An Introduction to the Early History of Christian Doctrine. By J. F. BETHUNE-BAKER. (Methuen.) 10s. 6d.

Defence of Theistic and Christian Belief. By G. P. FISHER. (Hodder and Stoughton.)

The elements of Comparative Religion should be studied, as the subject is much to the fore to-day and is used for anti-Christian propaganda. Information about Missions can be found in

A Short Handbook of Missions. By Eugene Stock. (Long-

mans.) is. (With a very full bibliography.)

For Moral Training the teacher will rely largely on the discussion of the characters of historical persons and of those in standard works of fiction, e.g. the works of George Eliot.) Ordinary manuals of Ethics can be made a basis of systematic teaching of Christian Ethics. See also Moral Instruction and Training in Schools. Ed. M. E. SADLER. (Longmans.) Two vols. 5s. each. Useful illustrations and suggestions can be found in the publications of the (secularist) Moral Education League, 6 York Buildings, Strand, W.C.

CHURCH HISTORY.

A. CLASS BOOKS.

I. Early and General Church History.

A History of the Church to A.D. 325. By H. N. BATE. 'Oxford Church Text Books.' (Rivingtons.) is, net.

Landmarks of Church History. By H. COWAN. (A. and C. Black.) 'Guild Text Books.' 6d. (Scottish Presbyterian, and inadequate on the English Reformation. The different view of the origin of the Episcopate can easily be pointed out. Otherwise a very useful little book.)

II. English Church History.

An Elementary History of the Church in Great Britain. By W. H. HUTTON. 'Oxford Church Text Books.' (Rivingtons.) is. net.

Illustrated Notes on English Church History. C. A. LANE. Vol. I.: From the earliest times to the dawn of the Reformation. Vol. II.: Its reformation and modern work. (S.P.C.K.) is. each. Illustrated.

Everyman's History of the English Church. By P. DEARMER. (Mowbray.) is. (Short and simple, with excellent illustrations.)

B. TEACHERS' CLASS BOOKS.

I. Early and General Church History.

A History of the Church to A.D. 461. By F. J. FOAKES JACKSON. (Cambridge: Hall.) 7s. 6d.

The Church of the Fathers. By L. Pullan. 'The Church Universal,' Vol. II. (Rivingtons.) 5s. net.

The Beginnings of the Middle Ages. By R. W. Church. (Longmans.) 2s. 6d.

The Church in the Roman Empire. By A. CARR. (Longmans.) 2s. 6d.

Epochs of Church History. Ed. by M. CREIGHTON. (Longmans.) 2s. 6d. net each.

The Church of the Early Fathers. By L. PULLAN. (Rivingtons.) 5s. net.

II. English Church History.

An Introduction to the History of the Church of England. By H. O. WAKEMAN. (Rivingtons.) 7s. 6d.

C. SCHOOL LIBRARY.

I. Early Church History.

Early History of the Christian Church. By L. Duchesne.
Three volumes. (Paris: Fontemoing.) Vols. I. and II. Eng. trans. (Murray.) 9s. each.
The Origins of Christianity. By C. Bigg. (Oxford

The Origins of Christianity. By C. Bigg. (Oxford University Press.) 12s. 6d. net.

Early Church History. By H. M. GWATKIN. Two vols. 2nd edit. (Macmillan.) 17s. net.

The Church Universal. Eight vols. (Rivingtons.) 3s. 6d.-5s. each. Ed. W. H. HUTTON. (See Vol. II. above.)

History of the English Church. Eight vols. Edited by W. R. W. Stephens and W. Hunt. (Macmillan.) 7s. 6d. each.

D. Books of Reference.

Publications of the Church Historical Society (S.P.C.K.), including Suggestions for the Study of English Church History. (S.P.C.K.) 2d.

The Study of Ecclesiastical History. By W. E. Collins. 'Handbooks for the Clergy' series. (Longmans.) 2s. 6d. (Contains an excellent bibliography.)

Cambridge Medieval History. Vol. I. (Cambridge University Press.) 20s. net.

One-Volume Dictionary of Christian Biography. Edited by H. WACE and W. C. PIERCY. (Murray.) 21s. net.

A collection of good Biographies should be made. The elements of Christian Art and Architecture should be used to VOL. LXXVI.—NO. CLI.

illustrate the subject (excellent small selection of illustrations in Christliche Kunst im Bilde. By G. G. VITZTHUM. (Leipzig: Quelle und Meyer.) 'Wissenschaft und Bildung' series. 1s. 3d. at Williams and Norgate.

THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER.

A. CLASS BOOKS.

Prayer Book History. By W. H. FRERE. No. 43 of 'Mirfield Manuals.' (Commercial Street, Leeds: R. Jackson.) 1d.

A History of the Book of Common Prayer. By J. H. MAUDE. 'Oxford Church Text Books.' (Rivingtons.) Is. net. (A useful class text-book for fifth or sixth forms; inadequate for the teacher.)

The First and Second Prayer Books of Edward VI. 'Everyman's Library.' (Dent.) is. net. (Valuable to have copies that pupils may compare the two and learn to

examine documents at first hand.)

Everyman's History of the Prayer Book. By PERCY DEARMER. (Mowbray.) is. 6d. net. (Simple, with excellent illustrations.)

B. TEACHERS' CLASS BOOKS.

A New History of the Book of Common Prayer. By F. PROCTER and W. H. FRERE. (Macmillan.) 12s. 6d. (The standard book, and valuable as a guide to further study.)

The Book of Common Prayer. By L. Pullan. 'Library of Practical Theology.' (Longmans.) 5s. (For ordinary readers simpler, and well adapted to teach

from. High Anglican.)

C. SCHOOL LIBRARY.

The Prayer Book Dictionary. Edited by G. HARFORD and M. STEVENSON. (Pitman.) 25s. net.

Principles of Religious Ceremonial. By W. H. FRERE. 'Library of Practical Theology.' (Longmans.) 5s. (Largely historical; gives in an accessible form much of the whole history of Christian worship.)

Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity. Book V. (Oxford.) 12s. (The whole three volumes can be bought second-hand for a few shillings more. There is also a cheap edition

in Dent's 'Everyman's Library.')

D. Books of Reference.

See the list in Procter and Frere's History. For practical details consult P. Dearmer The Parson's Handbook. (Grant Richards.) 6s. Books on General Church History contain much about the history of the Prayer Book and Christian Worship. Books on Gothic Architecture, Church Music, Christian Archaeology—e.g. Handbook of Christian Archaeology. By W. Lowrie. (Macmillan.) 10s. 6d. The British Museum Guide to the Christian Art Antiquities, 1s., should be consulted.

For hymns, see the 'Historical Edition' of Hymns Ancient and Modern. (Clowes.)

For suggestions as to music, consult the Church Music Society. (Sec., The Lady Mary Trefusis, Porthgwidden, Devoran, Cornwall.)

ART. V.—THE PROPOSALS FOR A NEW LECTIONARY.

- Convocation of Canterbury, Lower House: Report of the Committee on the Revision of the Lectionary. No. 475. (London: S.P.C.K. and the National Society. 1913.)
- 2. Revision of the Lectionary of the Book of Common Prayer.

 By the Very Rev. Vernon Staley, Provost of St.

 Andrew's Cathedral, Inverness. (Dumfries: R. G.

 Mann. 1909.)
- 3. A Suggested Lectionary. By the Rev. Sydney Cooper. (Frome: To be obtained from the Author. 1912.)
- 4. Report of the Joint Commission on the Revision of the Tables of Lessons. (American Episcopal Church. 1912.)

Ι

THE use of lessons of Holy Scripture has always been an important element of Christian worship: the selection of appropriate portions of the Sacred Books for use in the Christian services is a task worthy of the greatest care and

the nicest discrimination. When the English Church carried out the reformation of her services, with the express purpose (by simplification and translation into the vernacular) of restoring them to the use of the ordinary people, the provision of a careful lectionary-scheme whereby the books of the Old and New Testaments should be appointed for reading throughout the course of the Christian year, and the individual lessons should be selected so as to throw all possible light upon one another, would have been a natural result of the awakened interest in Holy Scripture, and a worthy product of the Reformation-movement. Unfortunately nothing of the sort was produced or even attempted. Cranmer's draft schemes of the kind, which he sketched out previously to the First Prayer Book, 1 do indeed shew the promise of a lectionary in which the books of Holy Scripture would have been arranged according to the ecclesiastical year; but the Table of lessons which was actually included in the First Prayer Book is the exact opposite of everything that might have been hoped for. It shews a scheme by which the Old Testament is indeed read through once in the course of the year and the New Testament thrice; but (with the exception of the assignment of the Book of Isaiah to the month of December) there is no attempt whatever to adapt the Tables to the seasons of the Christian year: there are no 'Proper' lessons appointed for ordinary Sundays, and very few for the Holy-days. Even Good Friday had no proper second lessons and Easter Day had no proper first lesson at Evensong! The scheme is the baldest and most jejune that it is possible to imagine: it is a mere chance whether the Sunday lessons are edifying or the reverse: with the exception of five or six days there is no attempt to fit either the books read to the season or the lessons to the day or to one another. It is amazing that the real interest and delight in the Bible which was opened out when it was rendered accessible to the people should have produced no better plan for reading the Scriptures; and it is, if possible, even more amazing that

¹ See Gasquet and Bishop, Edward the VIth and the Book of Common Prayer.

those to whom the reading of the Scriptures was so important and vitalizing an element in the public worship could remain satisfied for more than three hundred years with so poor a provision. The chief of the ancient Epistles and Gospels were retained in an English translation, and it was fortunate that no attempt was made to improve on these. After the lapse of a dozen years a great improvement was made for the Sunday services by the publication of the 'New Calendar,' with a Table of Proper Old Testament lessons for the Sundays of the year. This was an attempt to select the most important and useful chapters for the Sunday services, and to arrange the chapters selected from the books with some suitability to the Christian year. It might have been thought that the New Testament lessons would require as careful treatment as those from the Old Testament, or that at least it might be worth while to secure some kind of connexion between the lessons of the Old and New Testaments which were appointed for the same Sunday; but nothing was done for the New Testament lessons. As before, the second lesson was that which happened to come on the day of the month, and thus the combination of the Old and New Testament lessons at the Sunday services remained a mere haphazard juxtaposition with no real connexion of thought between them.

These Tables of lessons remained practically unaltered until 1870, when our present Table was prepared by a small committee of persons, most of whom were, in spite of their Biblical scholarship, not very well qualified for the task. Our previous Anglican lectionaries had no particular claim to distinction on any ground of intrinsic excellence: since the Sixteenth century other lectionaries (among which may be mentioned especially Lutheran and 'Irvingite' lectionaries) had been put forth which had a better claim to consideration on the ground of merit; but the Royal Commissioners had such confidence in their own ability and in our 'incomparable Liturgy' that they did not think that any valuable assistance could be obtained from any of these lectionaries, nor did they consider it worth while to consult any of the lesson-systems of the ancient

rites of the Church. Their own unaided wisdom was sufficient: no deep research was necessary or expedient for the matter in hand. This 'New Lectionary' embodied many improvements in detail—in particular the provision of many lessons as appropriate as could be found for Saints' days—but it marked no return to ancient principles: it perpetuated the old grievous error (for the Old Testament) of the weekly clashing of two independent lesson-systems, and it introduced some new errors which provoked immediate criticism. The production was, on the whole, unworthy alike of the Biblical scholarship and the liturgical knowledge of the time, and this unworthiness has been increasingly felt by both Biblical scholars and liturgical students as time has gone on.

If there is to be any revision of the Prayer Book the lectionary is one of the parts which most obviously needs revision; the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury has appointed a strong Committee to prepare a report on the question, which naturally involved the recommendation of new Tables; and the result of their labours is now made public. The members of the Committee have appreciated the fact that they had had laid upon them a task of great importance, and they have spared no pains in order to produce a lectionary which should be really worthy of its object. Before proceeding to consider the details of the present scheme, it will be useful to notice briefly the salient points of the history of lectionaries in general, and to endeavour to outline (we cannot do more than outline) the main principles which have inspired their construction. In doing this it will be necessary to include not only the lessons used at the 'Choir services,' but to touch also in the first place on the lessons of the Eucharistic Liturgy represented by the Epistles and Gospels in our Communion service

II

The origin of all Scripture lessons in the Church services is to be found in the services of the Jewish Synagogue.

Among the most important elements of those services were two lessons-from the Law and the Prophets respectivelyand the antiquity of these is attested in the New Testament itself. The first Christians naturally continued in their worship the same kind of service to which they had been previously used in the synagogue; they had no other type to copy, and it is hardly strange that St. Paul's injunctions that his Epistles should be read in the assemblies of the Christians of Colossae, Thessalonica, and Laodicea should have given rise to the custom of adding a lesson from the Pauline Epistles after the Prophetic lesson in the services of the Christian Synagogue. Again, Christians like Theophilus were orally instructed 'in those things which are most surely believed among us' (and where else than publicly in the Christian assembly?), and it would be most natural that when the Gospels were written the oral narratives of the Apostles should, as they passed away, be replaced by lessons from the Gospel-narratives. It is no wonder that the lectionaries of all existing rites are based upon an apparently general primitive system of lessons from the Law, the Prophets, the Epistles and the Gospels. But in very early times changes took place: lessons from the Law and the Prophets were merged in lessons from the historical books and from the other books of the Old Testament respectively; a lesson from the Catholic Epistles was introduced as an alternative to the lesson from the Epistles of St. Paul. After the peace of the Church there arose a tendency to drop some of the lessons: first the lesson from the Law was dropped in some of the rites; then that from the Prophets also, until the Old Testament lessons have almost entirely disappeared from the liturgies of the Byzantine and Coptic rites, and in the Roman rite the distinction between lessons from the Old Testament and the Epistles has been lost, and it is only for a few occasions that we find both a lesson from the Old Testament and also one from the Epistles preserved—in almost all Masses an Old Testament lesson or an Epistle-lesson being used, but not both. In the Iacobite, Nestorian, Armenian, Ambrosian, and Mozarabic lesson-systems, however, the ancient series of

lessons may still be found, though not retained throughout

the year.

Such a series of lessons from the Law, the Prophets, the Epistles and Gospels being used in the Liturgy, what lessons were used in the other services of the different rites? The earliest services outside the Liturgy proper appear to have consisted of (a) Missa catechumenorum—i.e. the old synagogue service without 'the breaking of the bread'; (b) the Vigil service, which was only an extended form of (a); (c) the Vesper service, which was developed out of the devotions which accompanied the Agape 1; and (d) a daybreak service (Mattins or Lauds), which was developed somewhat later on the model of the Vesper service. In (a) and (b) the series of lessons was precisely similar in character to that of the Liturgy proper, though in the Vigils the series was necessarily longer; lessons had no part in Vespers nor originally at Mattins; when they were introduced into the latter they were exactly parallel to those of the Liturgy i.e. Prophecy, Epistle, and Gospel. In all these lessons we may note certain characteristics: (1) though the length of lessons varied, yet each lesson was short enough to have a unity of its own; (2) the different classes of books were kept distinct and not used interchangeably; (3) there was no attempt (in any existing rite) to read through the whole Bible or even (with special exceptions noted below) any book of it.2

But is it not true that 'the ancient Fathers so ordered the matter that all the whole Bible (or the greatest part thereof) should be read over once every year'? Any such idea was entirely foreign to the lesson-systems of

¹ See an article on the Mozarabic Breviary in C.Q.R. for April IGII.

² At the Missae catechumenorum, which were used for the instruction of the candidates for baptism, the Books of Genesis, Proverbs, Isaiah, Job, and Tobit were read through in different rites during Lent. The alleged lectio continua of the Byzantine lectionary is a very different thing from an attempt to read through the whole Bible: it concerns only the Gospels; and it is only in the later strata of the lectionary that it attains to anything like a complete reading even of these.

all the ancient secular rites: it was the monks (and especially the monks of the West) who laid out the plan of reading through the Scriptures each year in the long watches of the night. St. Benedict is very probably the originator of the only system of the kind with which we are acquainted. and in the East there are no Scriptural lessons even in the ordinary monastic services. A clear distinction must be noted between the old system of lessons of definite length and unity of subject and the 'Scripture-reading' of the monks. The object of the monks was not to select suitable and edifying passages for the various services, but to get through the whole Bible in a year: consequently they did not assign passages to each service (or day), but appointed that certain books should be assigned to certain seasons and read continuously so as to get through each book (if possible) before it was time to begin the next. The portions read were ordinarily very long, and the beginning and ending of the portion read each day was left to the discretion of the presiding abbot who closed the reading whenever he thought fit on the spur of the moment.1 There could therefore be no attempt at unity of subject in any single 'reading.' Moreover, only one book of Scripture was in reading at once, so that there could be no selection of lessons from different books of the Old and New Testaments to illustrate one another. The whole scheme was totally unlike the more ancient lesson-system of the Church.

Such was the system of Scripture-reading which was adopted both in the Benedictine monasteries and in the basilicas of Rome. (It must always be remembered that the round of services which is now, or was till lately, enshrined in the Roman Breviary is not the original set of Roman secular services but the round of services of the monks of Rome, which so completely superseded the original secular services that the only remaining trace of them is, possibly, to be found in the Canons of Hippolytus.) After this method the whole Bible, except the Gospels, was intended to be read through in the course of the year in

¹ Each reading was divided for convenience into three or four portions separated by Responds, but these portions were continuous.

the 'first nocturn' of each day; in the second and third nocturns (which were used on Sundays and festivals only) the acts of the saints commemorated and homilies from the Fathers were read. The Gospels were not read through at all, but the Gospel of the Mass of the day was read at the end of the third nocturn on all days for which Gospel lessons were appointed.

It will be readily apparent that such a system of devotional reading was suitable only for a monastery or a collegiate church: it required a library of books and was practically impossible in an ordinary parish church or for private recitation; and when the elements of the services were collected into the Breviary the long readings could no longer be taken from a Bible and volumes of the Fathers ad libitum, but had to be set out exactly as they were to be read. Further, when Breviaries were demanded that could be carried in the pocket advantage was taken of the freedom of the old method, and the portions appointed were cut down to a minimum that was a mere mockery of the original

Thus we see that there were two different systems of reading Holy Scriptures in the services: (1) a series of lessons from different classes of books, and (2) a system of reading through the Bible one book at a time, in large portions rather than lessons. In the first system we should naturally expect to find that the lessons from the different books were chosen with a view to some correspondence between them and with little or no attempt at reading through any books; but the correspondence of the lessons is by no means universal: in parts of the Syrian and other lectionaries we find often very beautiful correspondences between the lessons for each day, but in the Byzantine lectionary, for example, there does not appear to be any attempt at correspondence between the Epistle and Gospel on ordinary days. In the lessons for the Missae catechumenorum for Lent in certain rites we find the Books of

¹ In the earliest edition of this plan the Pauline Epistles were read in the third nocturn and not in the first. See note to p. 114.

Genesis and Proverbs read through together, and of course there is no possibility of any correspondence between the lessons in such a case.

It was a reaction from the state of things described above that led up to the Breviary of Cardinal Quignon, and this Breviary had, as is well known, a very large influence upon our own Prayer Book. Quignon had introduced a new principle, or, we may say, had attempted to combine the old secular plan of reading at one service lessons from different books of the Old and New Testament with the monastic plan of reading continuously through the books of the Bible. He did not revert to any ancient lesson-system, but invented a very ingenious lesson-system of his own, which though novel had many points of contact with various ancient systems. Quignon was the first to disregard the ancient division of the books into classes; to treat all books of the New Testament (Epistles, Acts, and Gospels) as on the same footing, and to put even the Apocalypse in the same class, instead of treating it as a prophecy and putting it in the same class as the Prophetic writings of the Old Testament. 1 His lessons are often too long for any unity of subject, and of course when two books are read continuously there can be no correspondence between the portions of each which are assigned to any particular day. On a Saint's day Quignon's third lesson was a succinct account of the saint commemorated; on the more important Sundays and Holy-days an excerpt from a patristic homily; and on other days a repetition of one of the lessons from St. Paul's Epistles or the Acts which had been already assigned as one of the second lessons in the ordinary course.

¹ Since we may assume that Quignon was acquainted with Cassian's description of the Egyptian monastic services it is very possible that he took from this source the idea of two lessons—from the Old and New Testaments respectively. But the lessons referred to by Cassian were probably similar to the lessons of the Liturgy—a lesson from the Apocalypse, Acts, or Epistles, along with a Gospel on Sundays and during Eastertide, but a Prophecy and Gospel on ordinary weekdays.

The publication of Cranmer's preliminary projects for the reform of the services has shewn how greatly he was indebted to Ouignon for many of the best of his ideas, and we can only regret that he did not follow Quignon more closely in the formation of his lectionary. Quignon's lectionary is very cleverly worked out: it is arranged according to the course of the Church's year, to which it is well adapted. One can only wonder that with such an example before his eyes Cranmer could have been content with the 'wooden' scheme which is actually prescribed in the First Prayer Book. The great defect of Quignon's lectionary is the absence of Proper lessons even on such days as Good Friday and Easter Day, in which Cranmer only too faithfully followed his example. We could wish that it might be possible in the future to provide (after the primitive pattern) lessons for every service—from the Old Testament, the Epistles or Acts, and the Gospels respectively; but, for the present at least, any such scheme is, of course, outside the range of practical politics.

III

In times like the present when there is a general interest in liturgical studies it is not to be wondered at that the poverty of our present lectionary should have led to several private essays towards something better. The present writer possesses one such draft lectionary in MS. which was drawn up by the late Bishop Hale, of Cairo, U.S.A., and the names of two lectionaries of similar character are quoted above at the head of this article. The American Church is also dissatisfied with the lectionary at present in use, and an alternative Table of lessons has been put forth as an 'authorized experiment' with a view to some alteration in the present Tables.

Provost Staley's lectionary and the principal part of Mr. Cooper's are arranged according to the course of the Church year instead of according to the civil Kalendar.

Mr. Cooper on weekdays has generally two books of the Old Testament in reading simultaneously—one at Mattins, the other at Evensong; but on Sundays the Old and New Testament lessons are generally continuous. We think this plan much better than that of Provost Staley, who, on the contrary, appoints different books of the Old Testament for reading at Mattins and Evensong on all the Sundays after Trinity, so that one can never hear on a Sunday evening the continuation of a story that was begun in the morning. There are many excellent points in both lectionaries, and they will well repay careful study. Without going into details we may mention the following :- In Provost Staley's lectionary the weekday evening lessons in Lent are from a Gospel, the chapters that give the account of the Resurrection of our Lord coming in their place in Easter-week; Acts is appointed for Easter-tide, and the most important part of Hebrews for Ascension-tide. In Mr. Cooper's lectionary Genesis ii. and iii. are appointed for Sexagesima Sunday; the Pastoral Epistles are appointed for the Ember-days in Lent and Whitsunweek—an arrangement which we greatly prefer to a mélange of selected passages—and Acts is appointed for Easter-tide.

In the Table of lessons which accompanies the Report (No. 475) of the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury, we have before us the first official attempt at setting forth a lectionary that should be worthy of the Anglican Church. The principles upon which it is constructed are (somewhat shortly) explained in the Report itself, but the Table is worth detailed and careful examination. Enormous pains have been taken, a considerable attention has been paid to liturgical precedent, and still more attention has been devoted to practical necessities. The Committee have adopted two main principles: (1) that Proper second lessons should be provided for Sundays as well as Proper first lessons; and (2), as almost a corollary of this, that the lessons for weekdays should be arranged according to the days of the week instead of according to the days of the month—i.e. that the whole lectionary should

be arranged according to the Church's year instead of according to the civil Kalendar.¹

IV

Let us consider first the Sunday lessons. We see that the Committee have adhered pretty closely to the general principle of the present set of lessons (exceptions will be noted below): too closely in our opinion. We thought that it was generally agreed that our alternative Sunday evening lessons were chosen on a wrong principle, as if the same people might be expected to hear one of them in the afternoon and the other in the evening—a thing which very rarely occurs in actual fact; and that therefore in any new lectionary the lessons for a duplicated Evensong would be an altogether independent series, after the manner of one proposed (if we remember rightly) by the late Bishop Christopher Wordsworth, of Lincoln.

It is useful to have possible alternatives on occasion, as, for example, in the case of lessons which might not be suitable to every congregation, and it would also be useful to have an alternative series altogether for an additional evening service; but in the proposed lectionary we think the provision of alternative lessons has been carried to such a length that the principle of a definite lectionary has been almost if not entirely lost. We welcome the

¹ There are one or two improvements which may appear insignificant, but are yet of considerable practical value. First, the Committee have abandoned the old clumsy notation (by which 'c. viii. to v. 9' meant exclusive of v. 9), and have adopted a notation in better accord with the general usage of scholars of the present day. Very likely this was found necessary in the case of lessons in which certain verses are to be omitted—a very useful course, which will be noted presently; or in the case when the lesson stops in the middle of a verse—a necessary course also in some cases, if the best lesson is to be provided. In some cases the Committee have noted a lesson as containing verses '9-end'; we wish that they had done so throughout instead of using ch. xii. 6, as meaning that the chapter should be read from the 6th verse to the end: Is. xix. 19 ought to mean that only the 19th verse of the nineteenth chapter should be read.

series of lessons from the Gospels and Acts appointed for Sunday evenings after Trinity, but we are very doubtful whether there is any real need for an alternative series taken from the Epistles. Alternative first lessons for both morning and evening of Sundays are appointed so freely (whenever the lessons are from the historical books) that it would be possible to attend Church regularly every Sunday morning and evening for a year and yet to hear a lesson from the historical books on only four or five Sundays. one of which would be Easter-day! This undervaluing of the historical books shews a great lack of appreciation of their practical value for the instruction of the uneducated and of children. The prophetic writings, with few exceptions. are far above the heads of the unlearned. It is not the historical value, whatever that may be, which renders the historical books useful for teaching the unlearned: but the parish priest finds it far easier to enforce moral and spiritual lessons from the stories of Abraham, Jacob, Joseph. Saul, Jeroboam, Jehu, and Daniel than to build his teaching upon the discourses of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Amos, and Obadiah. The stories from Daniel are universal favourites with children, and most of them are excellently adapted to teach a moral lesson; yet we find the use of Daniel confined to one Sunday in the year, while six Sundays are assigned to lessons from Jeremiah and Ezekiel, two to the minor prophets and five to lessons from the Proverbs.

We regret to see that the lessons about Korah are entirely omitted and a much less important chapter inserted in their place; r Kings xii. and xiii. cannot both be read, and in r Kings xiii. the verses which describe the sin of Jeroboam are cut off from the account of the disobedient

prophet who denounced the sin.

The most important chapters from the Old Testament should be selected for the first lessons on Sundays, and wherever it is possible a pair of lessons should be chosen for morning and evening on the same Sunday, by which we mean two lessons of which the evening lesson completes the morning one or unfolds the sequel of it. In our present lectionary (and in the proposed lectionary) we find that

the chapters selected for Sundays are sometimes chapters of very secondary importance; and in the proposed lectionary it often happens that the alternative lessons for a particular Sunday evening would form a useful pair for morning and evening, while the morning lesson does not pair well with either of the evening lessons. For example, r Kings xii. and xiii. are given as alternative lessons for Evensong on the Eighth Sunday after Trinity. There cannot be a better example of a pair of lessons than 2 Kings xviii. and xix., yet chapter xviii. is given on the evening of one Sunday and chapter xix. on the morning of the following Sunday.

Again, in the proposed lectionary we frequently find a gratuitously vexatious arrangement: e.g. on the Twenty-second Sunday after Trinity we find Proverbs i. and ii. assigned to the morning, and chapters iii. and iv. to the evening. How much better it would be to read chapter i. or iii. in the morning and chapter ii. or iv. in the evening! Then the chapters read on the Sunday could be read consecutively, whether chapters i. and ii. were read or chapters

iii. and iv.

The lessons recommended for the Seventeenth Sunday after Trinity are chosen with special reference to the observance of the Lord's Day; this is practically the creation of another feast of an entirely novel character. Though well intentioned, the idea appears to us to be a mistake, for if we admit special appropriations of this character where are we to stop? Why not select all the lessons on one Sunday with special reference to kindness to animals? or those for another with reference to missions? or to the blessings of the Bible? or to the sacred cause of universal peace? If one such celebration is admitted whv not the rest? But if we are to have a Lord's-day festival. how comes it that neither the one passage (Acts xx.) which gives Scriptural authority for the Christian observance of the Lord's Day, nor the passage from St. Mark (chapter ii. 23-28) in which our Lord lays down the true principles which ought to regulate the observance of the Sabbath, is included among the passages to be read?

V

It would have been well if Convocation had seen fit to enlarge the scope of the reference to their Committee in order to include the consideration of the Holy-days that are best to be observed, and the best way of observing them. A reconsideration of the blundering alterations that have been made in the Gospels for Holy-week is also very greatly to be desired, not with the object of further innovation but with the view of a return to ancient usage so far as may be practicable. It is almost impossible to arouse any interest in the festivals of many of the Apostles and Evangelists, for of many of these saints little or nothing is known. Unless St. Bartholomew is identical with Nathanael we know nothing about him at all; and if St. Bartholomew and Nathanael are identical why is not the one passage which tells us anything about him appointed for the Gospel of the day? What do we know about St. Simon or St. Jude, or St. Philip the Apostle? think of St. Thomas in connexion with one great event, which comes naturally and inevitably on Low Sunday: why should we think of it again at a totally inappropriate season of the year? It is pitiable to mark the lectionarymakers' gallant struggles to find appropriate lessons for such days as these; but we think it would be greatly preferable to abolish most of these days altogether, and for those that remain to appoint Proper lessons only when lessons really appropriate can be found. For example, we find a part of St. John xi. or xiv. appointed for the festival of a certain saint simply because the passage contains the account of a remark or a question addressed by the saint to our Lord. It is a pity to displace the ferial lesson, interrupting perhaps an edifying sequence of lessons, in order to introduce a passage which has so slight a connexion with the saint whose day we are keeping.

And besides such cases as these it must surely have struck most thoughtful people with what exceeding inconvenience the Annunciation comes in Lent, and also (though not so glaringly) how belated is the commemoration of our Lord's Presentation in the Temple long after we have finished the Christmas commemorations. If the principal events of our Lord's earthly life from His Birth to His Ascension are to be got into the space of half-a-year it is obvious that it is out of all proportion to keep these events on the dates now assigned to them, and in order to secure some proportion in our commemorations we must keep them much closer to Christmas. The old Western method of keeping these events was strictly in accordance with this practical consideration: the plan of keeping the Annunciation and Purification on their exact dates was an unwise importation from the East. Till long after St. Gregory's time the Roman Church kept the Annunciation on the Ember Wednesday before Christmas and the Visitation on the Ember Friday. The Purification was commemorated on the first of January (which fitted in well with the other Christmas commemorations), St. Paul on Sexagesima Sunday, and the Transfiguration on the Second Sunday in Lent. In the Mozarabic rite also the

¹ From the Ordo of Montpellier (Eighth century), as given in Mgr. P. Batiffol's Histoire Romaine, 1st edit., p. 329.

'Primitus enim adventum Domini kalendis Decembris incipiunt celebrare, et in ipsa nocte initiatur legi Isaia propheta, et usque in Domini natalem repetendo a capite ipsum prophetam legunt. Deinde una dominica [i.e. hebdomada] ante natalem Domini incipiunt canere de conceptione sanctae Mariae.'

From the Anonymus of Gerbert (Monumenta Vet. Lit. Alemm. p. 34) as given by Mgr. P. Batiffol (op. cit.), p. 339 (Eighth century).

'Primitus enim adventum Domini cum omni officio divino tum lectionibus cum responsoriis vel antiphonis seu et versibus a kal. Decembris incipiunt celebrare. Et initiantem legite Isaiam prophetam in vigiliis semper a capite repetendo usque in Dei natalem. . . . Hieremias et Daniel leguntur. . . . Postea quidem Hiezechiel et prophetae minores atque Job in idus Februarii. (Epistolas Pauli apostoli omni tempore in posterioribus tribus lectionibus tam in die dominica quam et in missarum solemnibus leguntur.) Deinde vero quinque libri Moysis cum Jesu Nave et Judicum in tempore veris iidem [lege, id est] septem diebus ante initium quadrigesimae usque ad octavum diem ante pascha leguntur. Et septem dies ante pascha liber Isaiae prophetae unde Presentation was kept on the first of January, and the Annunciation upon December 18. In the Ambrosian rite the Annunciation and Visitation are now both kept on the Sunday before Christmas, though it seems very possible that the Annunciation was originally kept on some day of the week preceding. In the old Roman rite the only commemoration of St. Thomas was on Low Sunday: in the Ambrosian rite the account of the election of Matthias was the 'Epistle' (very appropriately) for the Sunday after Ascension. Such methods as these seem a much more practical way of commemorating St. Matthias and St. Thomas than our present days. Of course such days as the Nativity of St. John Baptist on June 24 and St. Peter

ad passionem Christi pertinent et lamentationes Jeremiae. In diebus autem paschae epistolae apostolorum [i.e. catholicorum] et actus atque apocalypsis usque pentecosten. In tempore autem aestatis libri Regum et Paralipomenon usque ad medium autumni, hoc est quinto decimo kalendis decembris. Tractatus vero sanctorum Hieronymi Ambrosii ceterorumque patrum prout ordo poscit leguntur. . . . Una autem hebdomada ante natale Domini de conceptione beatae Mariae incipiunt celebrare. . . . A quadragesima vero incipiente usque quinquagesimo [lege quinto decimo] die ante pascha ad vigilias de aptatico [i.e. heptateucho] unde leguntur et responsoria canuntur. . . . Et a quinto decimo die ante pascha tam responsoria quam et antiphonae cum versibus suis de passione Domini incipiunt celebrare.'

In these ancient rules 'conceptio beatae Mariae' is shewn by the context to mean the Annunciation and to include the Visitation; referring to the Gospels for the Wednesday and Friday Ember days before Christmas.

Inconsistent directions are given for the reading of the Hexateuch, and for the commencement of Passion-tide; but it is pretty evident that the original custom was to begin the Hexateuch with the First Sunday in Lent (Passion-tide consisting of only one week); and that the reading of it was afterwards pushed back to begin on Quinquagesima Sunday, and Passion-tide was extended to consist (as now) of two weeks. This was derived from the Gallican Passion-tide of three weeks. In later times the Hexateuch was pushed back to Septuagesima. It was usual to begin the first week with Genesis. the second with Exodus, and so on: see Dr. J. Wickham Legg's Second Recension of the Quignon Breviary, vol. ii. p. 48 (Henry Bradshaw Society's Publications, 1911).

and St. Paul on June 29 were of very early date and universal acceptance; but St. James might well be associated with St. John in Christmas week (as in several old Kalendars), and St. Simon and St. Jude, St. Bartholomew and St. Philip, if necessary to be kept at all, might be comprehended in one general commemoration of all the Apostles; and St. Matthew and St. Mark might be likewise relegated to a festival of all Evangelists.

If our Holy-days are to be kept as at present, we think the Committee have done nearly as well as could be expected of them, considering the difficulty of finding appropriate lessons. It is a great gain from both the liturgical and the practical points of view to have Proper lessons (and the most important Proper lessons) appointed for the 'first Evensongs' of festivals. In all the ancient rites except the Roman, the day began with sunset, and the services of the day consisted of Evensong, Mattins, and Mass; and when people at the present day keep a festival by attending Evensong (with a sermon) and by making their communion, they naturally prefer to hear the sermon before the communion instead of at the end of the day, so that they may communicate with their minds instructed and their hearts raised up to appreciate the special lessons of the festival.

There are a few details in which we think an improvement might be made. It seems odd to find 2 Kings vi. 8-17 appointed for St. Thomas, but we think it an excellent lesson for Michaelmas. It is a clear gain to make the Christmas lesson from Isaiah ix. begin at v. 2, and that from Isaiah vii. stop at v. 14. The ignorant ought not to be made to wonder what 'butter and honey' have to do with Christmas, nor what land is 'abhorred,' nor why it is to be 'forsaken of both her kings.' We are sorry to lose the death of Abel on St. Stephen's Day, and on St. John's Day the second lesson is shortened so as to exclude the mention of 'the disciple whom Jesus loved'-but this must surely be a misprint. Rev. vi. 9-11 is appropriate on Innocents' Day, but it seems even better on All Saints-which was originally equivalent to All Martyrs. We do not think that the Circumcision is an event that ought to be brought into too great prominence, and it is not one of the oldest commemorations: we should prefer to include in the Gospel the Presentation of Christ, and (as in the Mozarabic rite) to distribute the emphasis between the Circumcision. the Holy Name—(the first of January is the only sensible date for any commemoration of the Name of Jesus)---and the Presentation. Phil. ii. 1-11 might well be the Epistle. It is not an improvement to transfer Jer. i. 4-10 from the Conversion of St. Paul to the Nativity of St. John the Baptist; and for St. Paul's Day we greatly prefer Exod. iii. and Wisdom v, to Isaiah xlviii. and xlix. It would be an improvement to add to Gal. i. verses 1, 2, 6b, 7, 9, 10, of chapter ii. For the Purification Exod. xiii. 1, 2, 11-16 is good, but we think Lev. xii. better, and certainly better than I Sam. i. 21. The second lessons for this day shew to what straits the Committee are reduced to find appropriate lessons: they give I St. John iii. I-3 and the Beatitudes. St. John xiii. is rather a gruesome lesson for St. Matthias, but what else can be done? For the Annunciation St. John i. I-I4 is excellent, and Phil. i. I-II not bad, though better suited to January I. Two thirds of the first lessons for St. Mark are far-fetched, and the same may be said of St. Philip and St. James. For St. James the Apostle the incident of the brothers' wish to call down fire from heaven is appointed along with the account of Elijah's calling down fire which suggested it, in spite of the strictures of the late Bishop Wordsworth of Lincoln; but no doubt it was difficult to find anything suitable. In the case of St. James there is hardly anything suitable for a Proper second lesson except his call; and similarly in the case of St. Matthew.

For Michaelmas a part of Gen. xxxii. is unfortunately retained, although it is more than doubtful whether the mysterious wrestler was an angel; and, as noticed previously, the very suitable lesson of the horses and chariots of fire round about Elisha is entirely omitted, as also the passage from Dan, viii. in which Gabriel is mentioned. We fail to see the appropriateness of Ecclus. i. 1-13 to St. Luke's Day, and we should prefer the opening of the Acts to one of the 'we'-sections as a second lesson, especially as the opening of St. Luke's Gospel is given for first Evensong. The lesson for All Saints from Heb. xi. is greatly improved by the addition of vv. I and 2, but it needs v. 32 as well to make the lesson run smoothly. The lesson is now rightly concluded at chapter xii. 2.

We suppose that any provision for a Dedication Festival was outside the scope of the reference to the Committee, although lessons for Ember-days have been included. We hope that these last are intended to apply only to the September Ember-days, as the other sets are already

provided for.

VI

The daily lessons from the Old Testament follow generally the lines of the first lessons on Sundays, lessons which are appointed for Sundays being generally omitted on weekdays. Isaiah is read in Advent, and Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the minor prophets after January 1. Genesis is begun after Septuagesima Sunday, and followed by the rest of the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges and Ruth up to about a week before Ascension Day, when Samuel is begun, and is followed by lessons from Kings and Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah. The most appropriate lessons from Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Haggai, and Zechariah are introduced in their chronological positions—a very excellent idea: and then follow Esther. Daniel, I Maccabees, Job (almost complete except chapters xxxii-xxxvii), Proverbs, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, 2 Esdras, Tobit, and Judith; and the book of Ecclesiastes fills up the last week before Advent. All the days of Holy-week, Easter-week, Whitsun-week, and the Rogation-days have Proper lessons.

This scheme is well worked out and is a vast improvement upon our present unsystematic arrangement. But we think it could be improved. Septuagesima Sunday is only 'the third Sunday before Lent' and has no claim to be treated as the beginning of a liturgical 'season': yet it is made to

figure as the beginning of the whole system of lessons, whilst the beginnings of Lent, Easter-tide, and Pentecost are not marked at all in the series of the daily first lessons. In the fitting of the books to the seasons in general a leaf might often be taken from one of the other lectionaries mentioned at the head of this article. It would be a felicitous correspondence if the daily course led up to the Passover and the crossing of the Red Sea for Easter; and this could be done if Genesis were begun in Lent instead of after Septuagesima, which (as has been mentioned before) would be only a following of the older precedents.¹

Then the settlement in the Promised Land might be finished by Pentecost, and so the new chapter in the history of Israel which opened with the Judges would begin with the second half of the Church year. The 'wandering weeks' before Advent might be provided with lessons from the Apocryphal historical books and those after Epiphany with lessons from the Apocryphal Sapiential books, so that more or less of these would be read in different years according as Easter came early or late. By this device a larger amount of the Apocrypha would be read altogether in different years, but only part of this amount in any one year.

We think also that Esther and Daniel would come much better before Ezra. It seems very questionable whether it is worth while to read the Book of Job in its entirety, or indeed anything more than extracts from it on special occasions. Our present lectionary omits most of the friends' speeches and gives only Job's rejoinders, so that we read the reply without the argument replied to: if, on the other hand, the whole book is appointed to be read we shall hear the friends' arguments in (say) the mornings and Job's replies in the evenings, and the effect of the whole will resemble the sermons of the preacher who set out by stating all the objections to Christianity in the morning and deferring the refutation of them to the evening. Many parts of the Proverbs and Ecclesiastes are only strings of sententious sayings with very little connexion or consecutive thought: such chapters as these are not well adapted for reading in a

¹ See note to p. 104.

course. If lessons of this kind are required we would commend to all lectionary-makers a study of the 'centos' from the Sapiential books which are prefixed to the lessons from the historical books in the Mozarabic Breviary.

In arranging the second lessons of a daily course we have to consider whether it would be better to read one book of the New Testament in the morning and another in the evening (as we do at present except for part of December), or whether it would be better to read one book of the New Testament at a time, reading the same book both morning and evening. The first plan has the great advantage that it renders the reading of the New Testament continuous for those who attend one daily service regularly and one only, though it is to be feared that few attend regularly enough to benefit greatly by this arrangement, and even in the case of these few the reading of the Old Testament has all the discontinuity which is avoided in the case of the New Testament, and with even worse effect; for in the case of the Gospels the connexion between the consecutive sections is for the most part very slight, so that we lose little by hearing alternate sections, whilst in the case of the historical books of the Old Testament the consecutive chapters are very often connected portions of one continuous story. The second plan is preferable for those who follow both services regularly, since it requires a slighter effort of memory to recall the connexion of thought or story in the case of two books than (as at present) in the case of three; and it has the advantage that it is easier to select one book of the New Testament to suit a particular season of the Church's year than to find two books equally suitable with the right number of lessons. With the first plan it will be possible—if the New Testament is read through at Mattins, and read through again at Evensong-to have a complete course of Scripture-reading when only one lesson (the first) is used at one of the two services—whether this be Mattins or Evensong. The advantages of the two plans are nicely balanced, and perhaps the Committee have done well by adopting either plan in turn as seemed most suitable for the particular book or season under consideration.

If the lectionary is used tentatively an opportunity will be afforded of putting both plans to the test of practice.

The scheme of the Committee is generally as follows. The Catholic Epistles are read during the first part of Advent (both morning and evening) and Revelation (as at present) during the latter part: from January I to Septuagesima St. Matthew is read in the mornings, followed by Hebrews. until the First Sunday in Lent, and by St. Mark's Gospel from the First Sunday in Lent to Palm Sunday. During the same period the Pauline Epistles are read in the evening in chronological order. All the days of Holy-week and Easter-week have Proper lessons, and after Low Sunday Acts is read both morning and evening, followed by Proper lessons for the Rogation-days, and the Catholic Epistles (a second time) between Ascension-day and Whitsunday. Whitsun-week has Proper lessons. After Trinity Sunday for sixteen weeks the Pauline Epistles are read a second time in the morning, and in the evening a kind of 'Diatessaron' of the four Gospels, i.e. a continuous narrative containing every event and discourse in the four Gospels, but without duplicates. After the Seventeenth Sunday after Trinity St. Luke's Gospel is read both morning and evening, followed by a second reading of the Acts of the Apostles (at both morning and evening), which fills up all the weeks to Advent Sunday. In all cases where a book is read twice at both services it is carefully arranged that the lessons assigned to the mornings at the first reading should be assigned to the evening at the second reading.

Under this scheme each Gospel is read once in its entirety, and our present second reading is replaced by the 'Gospel-harmony' in which only one account of each event is read—from one or other of the Gospels but from

only one Gospel.

We have nothing but admiration for the ingenuity and the enormous pains that have been devoted to the evolution of this elaborate system. As the Report well says, 'It is only those who have tried their hands at framing a lectionary who can form the least conception of the difficulty and complexity of the task.' The scheme has many and great merits: it appears very possible that the Gospelharmony may prove to be of great practical utility, and it does not do away with the complete reading of the Gospels each in its entirety: the arrangement of the Pauline Epistles in chronological order is an obvious improvement: the reading of the Acts as the sequel to St. Luke's Gospel is again a great practical improvement. There are countless improvements in detail which would take up too much space to recount. But while we fully admit the merits of the scheme before us, we cannot conceal from ourselves that there are certain defects—mostly in the general plan which are so weighty that they call for a reconsideration of the scheme, which we are sure could be made even better, and considerably better, than it is. It is no wonder if what may be called a first attempt (on the part of the authorities) at anything like a scientific lectionary should be capable of improvement.

In the first place, while it is in accordance with universal liturgical tradition to read Acts in Easter-tide we do not find a following of liturgical tradition in the assignment of all the books to the various seasons. In the later monastic custom the Pauline Epistles were read after Epiphany; but that was not on account of any special fitness for this season; it was simply because these Epistles were displaced from their older position and some place had to be found for them. The Book of Revelation was not read at all in several rites, but in every rite in which it was read it was assigned to Easter-tide as being the revelation of the Risen Lord. The central portion of the book has a certain congruity with Advent, but this is just the least useful part of it, of doubtful suitability for use at all in the services; and the beginning and ending of the book are much better adapted to Easter-tide. St. John's Gospel again is very usually read in Lent 1: Hebrews is obviously especially suitable for

¹ In the Byzantine rite it is read in Easter-tide, but there is a correspondence between this custom and the Roman and Mozarabic custom of reading this Gospel in Lent; for in each rite it was read at the season in which lessons were appointed for week-days and not for Sundays only.

Ascension-tide and it might extend into Whitsun-week. The Catholic Epistles are read in Lent (Mozarabic), but in Easter-tide and subsequently (Roman, &c.). The most regrettable point in the proposed arrangement appears to be the fact that if Easter falls late St. John's Gospel will be omitted altogether, except so far as it is included in the 'Diatessaron' and such portions as are appointed for Proper lessons.

A few details also are open to improvement. (1) There is a marked division of the Christian year at Christmas: before this day is a solemn season of expectation and looking forward to Christmas; on Christmas Day we enter on the joyful season of Christmas-tide. On the other hand the first of January does not correspond to any change of Christian season, for Christmas-tide extends beyond it to Epiphany-or to the octave in those rites which observe an octave of Epiphany. Consequently, if Revelation is appropriate to Advent we ought to begin St. Matthew and the Pauline Epistles (or whatever books are to be read in their place) on December 29 and not on January 1: similarly the reading of Isaiah ought to stop at Christmas or go on to Epiphany. To go back to Isaiah and Revelation after Innocents' Day has all the appearance of a return to Advent after Christmas.

Again, a good many people attend week-day Evensong in Lent who do not do so at other times: it seems a great pity that they should not hear a lesson from the Gospels. In the proposed lectionary part of the Pauline Epistles are assigned to the Lenten week-day evenings and St. Mark's Gospel to the mornings. In Holy-week an alternative set of first lessons is provided throughout the week in place of the lessons from Lamentations. We do not know what demand there is for alternative first lessons,² but we should greatly like to see St. John xiv.—xvi. replaced by more

¹ Some of the Catholic Epistles are obviously well adapted for both Advent and Ascension-tide, though for the latter season we think Hebrews even more suitable.

² There is excellent precedent for reading in Holy-week those portions of Isaiah which refer to the Passion.

appropriate lessons, or at least alternatives provided. These discourses would be much more appropriately assigned to some days between Easter and Pentecost, and (so far as we are aware) they are invariably so assigned in all ancient rites. We would suggest the following—at least as alternative lessons:

	Morning.	Evening.
Saturday before	Luke xviii. 31–xix. 28	John xii. 1–19
Palm Sunday	Matt. xxvi. 1–5, 14–end	,, xii. 20-end
Monday	,, xxi. 23-end	,, viii. I–II
Tuesday	,, xxii. 1–14	Matt. xxii. 15-end
Wednesday	Luke xxii.	,, xxiii.

The Passion from St. Luke ought to be restored to Wednesday in Holy-week, and might be divided between Mattins and the Communion-service as the Passions from St. Matthew and St. John are for Palm Sunday and Good Friday. It is a good thing that Proper lessons are appointed for every day in Easter-week, and it would be a good thing to restore the ancient Epistles and Gospels for these days: there is no ancient precedent for according a peculiar distinction to Easter Monday and Tuesday. On the other hand, it would be well to revert to the original custom for Pentecost. This feast had no octave originally in the Roman rite, and has not now in the Mozarabic rite. We might abolish the Proper Epistles and Gospels for Monday and Tuesday and the Proper lessons for all the week-days of the week, restoring the Epistles and Gospels for Wednesday and Friday and for the Vigil of Trinity Sunday.

The introduction of Trinity Sunday as a festival was a very doubtful advantage. In the East the Sunday before Pentecost is kept as a commemoration of the establishment of the Catholic faith at the Council of Nicaea, with Epistle and Gospel appropriate both to the subject and to the season; but the Western Trinity Sunday had a very different origin. The Sunday after Pentecost (there being no octave of Pentecost) was the Ember-Sunday: the long night Vigil was concluded by the Mass of the Vigil early on Sunday morning, and there was no other Mass later in the day.

When a later Mass was demanded on the Sunday a Votive Mass of the Holy Trinity was used for the purpose, and in later times special antiphons, etc., in honour of the Holy Trinity were introduced into the office, and so (as it were unwittingly) the Sunday was transformed into a festival of the Holy Trinity. In our opinion, a festival in honour of a doctrine—whether that be the doctrine of the Trinity or that of the Eucharist-is entirely foreign to the ancient constitution of the Church's year, and it would be well to restrict the observance of Trinity Sunday to its original 'Votive Mass' (i.e. a Proper Collect, Epistle and Gospel), and to restore the more ancient numbering of the Sundays as 'after Pentecost.' Our numbering 'after Trinity 'no doubt appeals to many people as a national peculiarity; but it is hardly wise to retain a practice merely because it is an English peculiarity unless it is also to be preferred for its own merit.

The divisions of the various books into lessons are a great improvement on our present divisions, which in several books (as e.g. the Acts) occur very obviously in wrong places. Yet even in the proposed lectionary, though some of the beginnings and endings of various lessons are extremely felicitous, yet there is still room for improvement in many other cases. For example, we find Acts i. given as one lesson, and St. Mark xv. 42-xvi.-end, as one lesson. We are exceedingly glad that the Committee have for some occasions given us a lesson which is not continuous but in which certain verses are passed over, e.g. for Epiphany, St. Luke iii. 15-18, 21, 22, and for the Fifth Sunday after Trinity I Sam. xvii. I-II, 32-54. (The latter would be still further improved by the omission of v. 50.) We wish however that the principle had been carried still further. By the omission of a good many verses the narrative of the Flood might have been got into a reasonable compass, and without the loss of any material incident in the story. Again Exodus iii. 1-17, iv. 10-18, 27-end would present a complete story of manageable length. When we teach children the story of Moses' second sojourn in the Mount we have to pick out portions from several chapters. Again, when

reading the story of David's repentance, it is a great pity to be obliged either to omit the account of his sin or to read aloud the repulsive details of the story: yet a lesson consisting of 2 Sam. xi. 1-5, 14-17, 26-xii. 23, would give the main facts of the history of both sin and repentance without anything that need shock a general congregation. In the ninth chapter of Proverbs we have the contrast between wisdom and the 'foolish woman' drawn out in two exactly parallel descriptions; but these are separated by certain other verses (6-10, 12) which do not belong to either description. Again, Daniel vii. 9, 10, 13, 14 is a much more appropriate lesson for Ascension Day when vv. 11, 12 are omitted. We have already noted that the addition of c.ii. 2, 6, 7, 9, 10 to Gal. i. 11-end for the Conversion of St. Paul would greatly improve the lesson. The Mozarabic 'Epistle' for St. Stephen's Day consists of Acts vi. 1-vii. 2a, 31-viii. 4. This is a great improvement on the Roman Epistle, and for our rite it could be utilized very conveniently if c.vi. 1-7 were appointed for the second lesson at Mattins, c. vi. 8-vii. 2a, 51-end used for the Epistle, and c.viii. 1-4 for the second lesson at Evensong. There are many lessons which would gain greatly in point by the omission of a verse or two; and if in point, then in the power of edification, which is the real object and end of all public reading of Scripture.

We must express our deep regret that the Committee have not ventured to restore the custom of the reading in one lesson of speeches like St. Peter's sermon in Acts ii. or St. Paul's sermon in Acts xiii. To cut these speeches in two, or that of St. Stephen in Acts vii, is like the snapping of a chain: the lessons containing these discourses would be long, but surely it would be possible to compensate for this extra length by shortening the Old Testament lesson at the same service? Could anything be worse than a lesson which begins in the middle of a discourse?

In reviewing the lectionary proposed by this Committee at considerable length we have endeavoured to shew our appreciation of the importance of this new departure and the very great value of the work accomplished, which has evidently cost an enormous amount of pains and is a witness to the ability and scholarship of the Committee. We hope that our criticisms will not be taken as in any case a disparagement of the proposed Table. With the main principles on which it is constructed we are in hearty agreement, and we sincerely hope that the Resolutions proposed will commend themselves to Convocation; but the very excellences of the Table invite the attempt at further improvement in details: the Table would not be worth criticism if it were not good, and it is the more deserving of criticism just because its excellence is so great.

W. C. BISHOP.

Art. VI.—J. L. VIVES AND ST. AUGUSTINE'S 'CIVITAS DEI.'

- I. Absolutissimi doctoris, Aurelii Augustini, opus absolutissimum, de Civitate Dei . . . per uirum clarissimum & undequaq' doctissimum Joan. Ludouicū Vivem Valentinū. (Basle: Froben. 1522.)¹
- 2. Saint Augustine, Of the Citie of God: with the learned Comments of Jo. Lodovicus Vives. Englished first by J[ohn] H[ealey]. And now in this second Edition compared with the Latine Originall, and in very many places corrected and amended. (London: G. Eld and M. Flesher. 1620.)
- 3. S. Augustini Civitas Dei. Edited by B. Dombart. (Leipzig: Tauchnitz. 1909.)
- 4. Joannis Ludovici Vivis Valentini Opera Omnia, in Eight Volumes. (Valentiae: B. Monfort.)²
- 5. Luis Vives y la Filosofía del Renacimiento. . . . Por el

¹ 1st edition, with the important Preface.

² This splendid large 4to edition, edited by Gregory Majansius (1782–1790), contains the letters and nearly every work of Vives, excepting the Commentaries on St. Augustine's Civitas Dei.

S^{r.} D. Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín. (Madrid: Imp. del Asilo de Huérfanos del S.C. de Jesús. 1903.)

6. Érasme: Précurseur et Initiateur de l'Esprit moderne. Par H. Durand de Laur. Two Volumes. (Paris: Didier. 1872.)

I

In that excellent book of Professor H. Durand de Laur entitled Érasme: Précurseur et Initiateur de l'Esprit moderne, the writer, with the shrewdness of insight joined with the attractiveness of style characteristic of the French critic, sums up in a short paragraph the predominant feature of Erasmus' excellence as a literary man. De Laur says: 'Erasmus was one of the most brilliant improvisateurs who ever lived. But he is unequal. We should search in vain to find in him that exquisite perfection of form which cannot be attained by improvisation. His literary genius only completely reveals itself in polemics, in the pamphlet, in the epistolary genre. There he is on his real territory. There he is supreme . . . and that in a dead language.' No one, however, has seen more clearly than de Laur that Erasmus is much more than a littérateur. He not only wrote himself, like all the scholars of the republic of letters in the time of the Renascence, but he also mapped out the territory which was ready for conquest by scholars. It was an age in which the true scholar was encyclopaedic, and therefore it was almost inevitable that the Literary Chief of Europe (as Erasmus substantially became) should 'set on work' his levies of scholars in those directions where the rounded system of knowledge shewed the greatest need of reinforcement. Erasmus occupied the almost, if not entirely, unique position of being in command of the services of the best scholars in an age before scholars had become differentiated as specialists. Permeated with the conviction that the whole encyclopaedia of knowledge constituted a unity, and also that the method of inquiry into all subjects was the historical method of returning to the ancient authors, in whose writings alone could be retraced the Golden Age

of life and thought, Erasmus and his followers were determined to bring back the knowledge of the past-wherever they exerted any intellectual influence. Though Erasmus preserved an iconoclastic attitude towards the abuses and corruptions of the Church and its monks, he had the deepest reverence for the simple and sincere pieties of religion, as can be seen in the Enchiridion Militis Christiani, and in the rare Catechism 1 which he wrote, and also in his Commentary on the Lord's Prayer, which was translated into English by Margaret Roper. Whilst. thus, Erasmus yielded to none in his reverence for the devotional side of religion, he recognized that an historical religion like Christianity could not be solidly based without an appeal to scholarship to secure an intelligent insight into its origins, growth, and development. The methods which had been applied to classical studies so fruitfully in the restoration of classical texts, and in the historical and archaeological re-discovery of antiquity, must be the methods to apply to every important province of study. It was because Erasmus realized the supreme importance of religion and its attendant intellectual interpreter on the historical side, theology, that he felt the necessity of applying the methods of textual criticism and interpretation of commentaries to the Scriptures and other documents of the Christian faith written by the early Fathers. Erasmus was thus led himself to produce an edition of the Greek Testament, which was the first printed text, and a Latin translation of the Greek, side by side, the first alternative Latin text to the Vulgate Latin text of St. Jerome.2 He thus became 'the starting

¹ This was translated into English in 1533 as A playne and godly Exposytion or Declaration of the Commune Crede . . . Newly made and put forth by the famouse clarke Mayster Erasmus of Roterdame. The Commissioners of King Edward VI. in 1547 ordered Erasmus' Catechism to be used at Winchester College.

² In later editions the Greek text of the N.T. was accompanied by a Paraphrase. This was translated into English, and in 1547 this work was ordered 'to be set up in every parish church in England.'

point,' as Mark Pattison describes his paraphrase, 'of modern

exegetical science.'

John Colet,¹ 'who taught and lived like St. Paul,' had provided earlier humanistic expository work. But it was Erasmus who alone in his age could carry a new point of view through to effective presentment, and to the widest consideration by scholars.

It would be erroneous to suppose that Erasmus accomplished his enormous task of editing the works of the early Fathers in a modern (Latin) text entirely by himself. On this point Mark Pattison says: 'Around him at Basle in 1515-6 was a circle of students, some young, some already distinguished, the three sons of Froben's partner, Johannes Amerbach (who was now dead), Beatus Rhenanus, Wilhelm Nesen, Ludwig Ber, Heinrich Glareanus, Nikolaus Gerbill, Johannes Oecolampadius, who looked to him as their head and were proud to do him service.' In 1516, the year of the publication of his edition of the Greek Testament, Erasmus was at Basle, but in the same year he visited England and Flanders and spent the year 1516-7 between those two countries. In July 1517 he entered into residence at Louvain and there he stayed till 1521, in close association with Busleiden's Collège des Trois Langues, and at the same time shewing great literary activity. In 1521 he returned to Basle. In 1529 he went to live at Freiburg im Breisgau. In 1535 he returned to Basle. He died there on July 12, 1536, in the seventieth year of his age. His main centre, therefore, was Basle, and it was at the press of John Froben in that city that his editions of the New Testament and of the early Fathers were published. The dates of these editions are: The Greek Text of the New Testament, 1516; Jerome, 1516; Cyprian, 1520; the 'pseudo'-Arnobius, 1522; Hilarius, 1523; Irenaeus (Latin), 1526; Ambrose, 1527;

¹ See Colet's Expositions of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans and of the First Epistle to the Corinthians. These lectures of Colet were given some eighteen years before Erasmus published his Greek text of the New Testament. It was Colet who led Erasmus to distrust the authority of Thomas Aquinas. (Erasmus, Letters, translated by F. M. Nichols, vol. i. p. 224.)

Augustine, 1528; Chrysostom (Latin), 1530; Basil (Greek), 1532. It is impossible to say exactly what share Erasmus had in each of these. He wrote prefaces and dedications to all of them. But wherever he went he secured co-workers, and the unravelling of the parts done by each worker, if it could be now achieved, would only be accomplished by carefully looking for clues in Erasmus' acquaintances at each town in which he sojourned, and in the letters he wrote from each of his residences to old friends, as well as in incidental references of scholars themselves.

Full particulars, however, are forthcoming with regard to one of these collaborators, viz. Juan Luis Vives, who undertook in 1520 to edit, at Erasmus' request, the Civitas Dei of St. Augustine—part of the complete Augustine eventually published as noted above in 1528. Erasmus must have made the acquaintance of Vives at Louvain at any rate in 1519, if not before.

Vives was lecturing at the Halles, *i.e.* in the University of Louvain, and at the same time appears to have been a student of Erasmus, who was established at the Collège des Trois Langues near the Fishmarket, where the class-room in which he is said to have lectured, together with the spiral staircase leading to it, have been identified in a building still containing the old class-room, though now used for commercial purposes.

Already Erasmus had published a text of the works of St. Cyprian and St. Jerome. He feared to face alone the enormous task of editing St. Augustine's works, and begged Vives to prepare a text and commentary for the Civitas Dei. Vives proudly responded to Erasmus' call for help. He regarded his senior with reverence for 'admitting others into the participation of so great a glory' as that of editing any of the early Fathers. 'And when,' says Vives, 'Erasmus had committed weightier tasks to other scholars, on account of their wider erudition and more fortunate intellects and greater effectiveness of industry, he allotted me the two and twenty books of the Civitas Dei, which work is occupied with matters the study of which seems to have engaged a great part of my life. To this task I set myself with great

effort and devotion, would that it might be said with corre-

sponding success.' 1

We can trace the story of this work of Vives from his own account in his Preface. He tells us that Erasmus had found difficulty in getting an editor for the *Civitas Dei*, since his friends had 'their minds intent on other work,' and that he himself entirely underrated the greatness of the task, thinking that his familiarity with much of the subject in his studies of antiquity would enable him to finish the work in two or three months. He explains that he had the ready confidence of a young man—he was twentynine years of age.

'But it turned out very differently from what I had reckoned, for besides the fact that the work is very long, there is in it a marvellous miscellany of topics: histories, fables, allusions to nature, rhetoric, mathematics, geography, morals, theology, and there is scarcely anything in all these subjects which can be treated in a moderate space. Moreover, the texts of the books were incorrect (mendosi) to a greater degree than can be described, and bad copying of MSS. had turned St. Augustine's meaning to something quite different from what he had written. Great was the labour to make a correct text in accordance with ancient MSS., and sometimes I had to guess at it. The attempt to restore the true meaning meant frequent recourse to conjecture.'

Vives does not mention the previously printed editions of St. Augustine's Civitas Dei. The editio princeps was issued as early as 1467 at the monastery of Subiaco. It was reprinted in 1468 at Rome by Sweynheim and Pannartz. Other issues followed. In 1489 Amerbach published an edition at Basle. These were, however, printed from a copy of a single MS. and were not the result of a collation, involving such labour of preparation as that of which Vives so plaintively speaks.

¹ From the *Preface* to Vives' Civitas Dei. It should be stated that I quote from the Preface as it appeared in the first (Latin) edition. This Preface was suppressed when the book was put on the Index donec corrigatur.

II

Vives began his work about the Calends of January in 1521. When he had just finished the first book of the Civitas Dei he received the news of the death of William de Croy, his pupil since 1516. De Croy was a Cardinal and Archbishop-designate of Toledo, although only a youth of eighteen years of age, when Vives first took charge of him. He had learned to love the youth. 'He is taken away,' writes Vives, 'who alone gave me peace and means as well as time for my studies.' Following on this blow, Vives fell into a serious illness, and thereupon was removed from Louvain to Bruges, so that as an invalid he might receive due care 'according to the Spanish custom and fashion,' for Vives regarded Bruges as a second Valencia, the city in which he was born. It is stated that one of the rich Spanish merchants at Bruges, Pedro de Aguirra, on this occasion befriended him and placed a furnished house at his disposal for his comfort. By the June of 1521 Vives was convalescent, but he remained on at Bruges for several months to await the coming to that city of the Emperor Charles to meet Cardinal Wolsey. He could not write at Bruges because there was no satisfactory library that he could use, but he had before him three copies of MSS. of St. Augustine, one lent by the Dean of St. Donatian's Church at Bruges, one from the Monastery of the Carmelites at Bruges, and another, sent him by Erasmus, which had come from Cologne, an old copy of a MS. said to have been written by the hand of St. Lutger.1 The variety of readings puzzles him. One has flexisse, another deflexisse, a third inflexisse. In every chapter it was necessary to examine, weigh, settle the different readings 'several times over.' Difficult passages were explained in the Commen-

¹ The above are the only codices specifically mentioned as used by Vives. He speaks generally of antiqui codices and vetusti codices, but these terms might refer to the above three. B. Dombart, in the Tauchnitz edition (1909), in his Siglorum Index notes eighteen different codices of the Civitas Dei (or parts of it), ranging from saec. vi. to saec. xiii.

taries which he furnished to accompany the text—a very important and comprehensive feature of the work, disclosing Vives' great knowledge and alertness of thought. Simpler and easier textual variants were noted in the margins, and especially such as referred to the Holy Scriptures. Throughout, Vives declares, he has attempted to give materials to the reader, 'to leave his judgement free and whole.' In his own words, 'Each one, as far as I am concerned, shall enjoy the employment of his own mind and form his own

judgement.'

Vives proceeds with the story of the production of his text and commentaries: 'After the departure of the Emperor and the Cardinal, I returned to Louvain a little before the end of September (1521), since affairs were in a settled way there, and my library there had been put in order.' In the winter he made determined progress, and finished to the end of the fifteenth book. At the end of the following spring he returned to Bruges so as to visit compatriots who were making preparations for the journey to Spain with the Emperor, being himself anxious duly to offer his salutations. But Erasmus would not brook any delay, and 'stirred and pressed' him to finish the work. 'With all the diligence of which I was capable, I returned to Louvain' and finished off in a month the last four books, with a good part of the eighteenth, and proceeded to write the Prefaces.' He was tired and broken with his great labour, and declares that it is impossible to relate 'how much my heart abhorred all literature and books,' and that he 'made no account of anything but to be free from a labour so difficult to unravel.' For without books of reference, he had had ' fables and histories to tell, countries and towns to describe.' Plato and the philosophers, together with the theologians, had constantly to be consulted; and still more, he had, for a variety of reasons, given special attention to the illustrations from secular literature. In matters of piety, he has refrained from quoting from the heathen writers, 'lest it should be supposed that the authority of St. Augustine was less firm if it did not receive the support of those pillars and columns.' He declares that he has attempted to keep out of

his commentaries 'the doubts and disputes' of contemporary theologians, so that their tares should not be mixed with St. Augustine's wheat, for such a mixture would arouse the Saint's indignation 'from whatsoever part of heaven that pure and most holy soul looks down on human affairs.' From St. Jerome he most freely quotes, for 'he surpasses by far all those of our religion who have written.' He has attempted in many passages to give pleasure to the reader. rather than to be always offering him instruction. But the commentaries have their rough places, their steep hills, and. what are quite as dangerous, their descents, and there will often be risk of falls unless you 'lie prone.' The reader will sometimes be left to guess when St. Augustine is citing from another author, since Vives may not have verified the quotation, though he may have had four or five works to search through, for which he has not yet made for himself indices. 'Works.' he remarks. 'which have indices are fortunate for letters.'

There was great difficulty in obtaining the texts of Greek authors.

'It is difficult to get or to borrow Aristotle or Demosthenes in Greek, or Pausanias or Eustathius. You cannot find them for sale at the booksellers. When Erasmus was at Louvain his bookseller helped me, and I gathered many passages which my heart presaged would one day be of use to me. Now I have found their use for the Commentaries. . . . Another time, when I shall have a larger library of Greek books, should the opportunity occur, I will supply what is now lacking.'

He cannot get away from the thought of the labour and tedium of the work. 'This only I can pray God, that this work may be felt as useful to readers as it has been grievous and wearisome to the writer.'

To illustrate the thanklessness of such labour, Vives tells us of a certain licentiate in theology who heard of his work on the *Civitas Dei*. 'What need is there,' said he, 'for commentaries, since the books are clear enough of themselves?' 'Happy man,' says Vives, 'to whom the *Civitas Dei* is simple!' A bystander asked this man why he was

of this opinion, seeing there are so many histories, fables, and philosophical, geographical, and mathematical topics in St. Augustine. 'Oh,' said he, 'all these things belong to theologians. What do I care if an a or a b is missing?' Vives says this is just the same spirit with which the humanist has to contend in interpreting Cicero, Vergil, and Pliny.

Vives desires to induce any people, learned or unlearned, to read St. Augustine's books if only they have 'affectionate and whole hearts.' As for himself, he has his reward,

independent of money or glory.

'I am as glad to have obeyed my Erasmus as it would have been sinful to have refused a charge which he laid upon me. For he has with me the right and power of a close friend as well as of a teacher—to demand the best from me. In writing this book I have imbued my soul and mind with cogitations brimful of virtue and holiness, making me more and more eager to live well as a Christian. That alone is an abundant and magnificent reward. . . . He who has promised that He will not ignore the offering of a cup of cold water for His sake, will acknowledge the gift, for the sake of the good will for which alone He cares, especially since I wish all my labours to be sound work.'

The folio volume was dedicated to the English King Henry VIII, who had attracted the attention of scholars by writing in 1521, in Latin, his Assertio septem Sacramentorum adversus Martinum Lutherum, for which he received the title of 'Defensor Fidei' from the Pope, Leo X. Vives dedicated his work on the Civitas Dei from Louvain, July 7, 1522, in a long address to the brilliant, scholarly King Henry. In it he says: 'He who should offer you gold, silver, or gems, garments, horses, or armour, would pour water into the sea, and bring trees to the wood. Most wisely you think that glory, beseeming your virtue and deserts, is purchased with all posterity by books and monuments of learned men.' He is sure that 'this work of

¹ In a letter to Erasmus, a year earlier than this—namely, July 10, 1521—Vives states that he had received a munificent gift from Queen Catherine of Aragon.

St. Augustine is most agreeable to your disposition and studies,' for it must be remembered that as a youth King Henry VIII had received the best ecclesiastical training of the age, on the expectation that when his elder brother Arthur, the Prince of Wales, should succeed to the throne, Henry would become the Archbishop of Canterbury and probably a Cardinal of the Church. Vives, however, regards St. Augustine not only as 'familiar' to Henry, but as a writer, to some extent, known to all. Vives' own description of the Civitas Dei may, perhaps, be quoted:

'This work is not concerning the children of Niobe, or the gates of Thebes, or mending clothes, or manuring the soil, which have furnished subjects for books to be presented to kings, but this work concerns Cities of the world and of God. wherein angels, devils, and all men are contained; how they sprang up, how they grew, whither they tend, and what they accomplished when they came to do their work. In the unfolding of these subjects he has omitted the study of no kind of learning, sacred or profane; he includes topics such as the exploits of the Romans, their gods and ceremonies, philosophers' opinions, the origin of heaven and earth, of angels, devils, and men; from what grounds God's people grew, and their history to the time of Christ. The Cities of God and of the world are compared, with incidental treatment of the Assyrian, Sicyonian, Argive, Attic, Latin, and Persian governments. Then are narrated the prophecies of prophets, heathenish and Jewish, with regard to Christ. Then, speaking of true felicity, he refuteth and repelleth the opinions of the ancient philosophers. Afterwards he proclaims how Christ shall come, the Judge of the quick and the dead, to sentence the good and the evil. Then he declares the torments of the damned and the joys and eternal felicity of godly men.'

King Henry's answer is not without interest. Translated from Latin, it runs:

'Worthy sir, our well-beloved friend,—As soon as St. Augustine's *Civitas Dei* came to our hands, illumined by your Commentaries, it was right welcome. It, indeed, raised the doubt within us, whom we should chiefly congratulate—you, to mention you first, who have now brought to a close by such

labour of learning so choice a work; or, secondly, St. Augustine, who has been for so long a time so imperfectly accessible, and who is now at last brought from darkness to light, who is now restored to his ancient integrity; or, thirdly, all posterity, for whose great profit your Commentaries are now at hand. Since it has pleased you to dedicate these Commentaries to our name, we cannot but retain a grateful mind and return you warm thanks; especially as your kind intention shews that you bear no ordinary love and observance towards us. For which reason we can assure you that our favour and good will shall never fail in your affairs, whatsoever opportunity shall offer itself on our part to be of helpfulness to you. From our Court at Greenwich, 24 January, 1523.'

III

On July 15, 1522, Vives despatched the last batch of the manuscript text of the *Civitas Dei*, and the voluminous Commentaries following each of the chapters of the text, to Erasmus at Basle, begging that his work might receive any corrections which his old master might see well to make. The book was issued by Froben.¹

In one of his letters, as well as in the Preface, Vives describes how his great labour over the Augustine had broken down his body, depressed his nervous system, and bowed down his head as if 'with the weight of ten towers placed on the top of it.' He had hoped that at least the reception of his work might bring him some consolation by proving that the book was of some usefulness. But it was the target for sufficiently violent criticisms from theologians, who depreciated any work produced with the good will of Erasmus. They also resented Vives' brusque repudiation of the earlier scholastic as well as the contemporary theological annotators. But the worst blow to Vives was the scant

¹ The title-page begins: Io. Frobenius, Lectori. S.D. En habes, optime lector, absolutissimi doctoris, Aurelii Augustini, opus absolutissimum, de Civitate Dei, magnis sudoribus emendatum ad priscae uenerandaeque uetustatis exemplaria, per uirum clarissimum et undequaq' doctissimum Joan. Ludovicum Viuem Valentinum. . . . Basileae, ex officina nostra, pridie Calendas Septembreis An. MDXXII.

recognition, and even cold criticism, of Erasmus, who discouragingly informed him that the publisher had been to the Frankfurt Fair and had not succeeded in selling a single copy of the Civitas Dei. It is true Erasmus adds: 'I do not therefore look askance at the work, except that the brevity which I formerly recommended you [this from the author of the Adages!] would have made the book more saleable.' He then suggests to the wornout Vives that he should undertake an 'improved' edition of the Civitas Dei, and prepare it in accordance with this criticism. Vives held Erasmus as the 'one Plato' in the literary world, worth to him 'the whole body of the people of Athens.' Nevertheless he summoned courage to reply (May 10, 1522):

'What Froben has written to you of me and my reputation has no effect on me. No one is more convinced of my ignorance than I am myself. It is of slight concern to me not to obtain the glory which I am quite conscious I do not deserve. I call heaven to witness that I thoroughly accept my poor reputation as above my merit, and I am often astounded to find Fortune so favourable as she is. . . . But, even if I should be persuaded that I had accomplished a fine piece of work, I am not ignorant that it would be due to a certain gift of genius which is the only life-giving principle in literary productions. Fortune distributes rewards and undying glory in the empire of letters where she will. Our labour belongs to us, but not our success.'

As a matter of fact, Erasmus had cooled in his judgement, if not in his feelings, towards Vives, for some reason by no means clearly explained by himself. Yet the actual success of Vives' edition of the *Civitas Dei* eventually compared favourably with that of the editions of other early Fathers prepared by Erasmus himself. The faint praise, if not indeed depreciation, of Vives' work by Erasmus is all the more difficult to understand, since the high reverence expressed by Vives for Erasmus was an added cause of the adverse verdict of the reactionary theologians against himself, and is said eventually to have been quite as much contributory to the placing of Vives' *Commentaries* on the *Index of Prohibited Books* as the actual contents of the

subject-matter.¹ As the laudatory passages concerning Erasmus were removed from the Preface in accordance with the Prohibition in later editions, and are therefore out of reach,² I now translate into English the salient quotations:

'I wish indeed I possessed such power and strength of speech as Erasmus of Rotterdam presented in his restoration of Jerome and Cyprian, at any rate I would wish to have the like intention (for who could lay claim to the same merit?). I might then be recognized similarly as the restorer of St. Augustine. If any one should estimate Erasmus with due justice and acuteness he will readily perceive that he is not only the glory and adornment of our age, but he is also the progenitor, under Providence, of impulse and aid to the best studies, through the stimulation which he brings to all letters and disciplines, hitherto lying on the ground and almost buried out of sight. He has taught with such ability that, in himself, he might suffice for the thorough learning of all arts, and the whole knowledge of the ancients. He has joined in the pursuit with such zeal, and is so ardent and indefatigable, that after he had investigated all the libraries and treasuries of letters, he was scarcely less eager to write himself than he had been to read the works of others. His judgement is so keen and absolute that no one is astonished because he brings what is confused into order, easily constructs details into system, and even restores what is incorrect to its rightful original. Adulterine knowledge he can assign to its rightful components and return to its rightful places. I pass by the books of profane authors which he has edited or revised, and the manner in which he has reproduced various less known authors, on whom he has conferred the highest immortality, which will win the admiration and gratitude of posterity. How should we to-day have obtained genuine and solid theology as the instrument of Christian piety from sacred writers, had not Erasmus encountered for us the torn, shabby, down-trodden theology and rescued it from the deepest darkness of night? Happy are they to whom it is given to be born after he has

¹ The Jesuits first forbade the reading of the *Commentaries*. They were condemned by the theologians of Louvain between 1546 and 1556 and by Paul IV in 1559. Apparently they were first actually placed on the *Index Librorum Expurgatorum* of the Archbishop and his Inquisitor General at Madrid in 1584 in such excellent company as that of Erasmus, Budaeus, Vossius, and Casaubon.

² I am unaware of any transcripts, even in Lives of Erasmus.

lived, for whom he has preserved all the most useful subjects for teaching—knowledge which in the earliest stages was hazardous and difficult, only to be obtained by undergoing severe toils. Through Erasmus we now read theology and find it a delightful study. Through his labours the fountains and approaches to reading are opened and purified, in a way which will bring him the fullest measure of glory without an equal. Nay more. He will help mortal men by his example. He exhorts all men of literary ability to follow him and his fame. He stretches out his hand to fellow-workers, whilst some scholars thrust down those who are aspiring, with their foot, elbow, or their hand. He entirely devotes himself to helping letters to flourish again, and to the revival of the knowledge of the old learned men. Whether this aim is accomplished by himself or by others. he cares not. Without seeking it, he earns the gratitude of all. The human race thanks him, but Christ, whose approbation alone he has tried to win, will recompense him. He puts an instrument of Christian piety into our hands, taken from Greek codices and collated and translated by himself. We now have Jerome, the chief writer on Christian religion, edited with a restored text, a quite different book from those of the dabblers in Jerome. Before now, how many people have read Cyprian? What writing is like his, as we now have it, pure and complete. expurgated from all that is unworthy? These greatest monuments of the greatest men owe almost as much to Erasmus as was accomplished by the authors themselves in their works as they would have been printed had it not been for Erasmus' revision. Augustine, a writer the most learned and the most saintly, still lacked such a craftsman. It was, indeed, a work of piety to Erasmus that Augustine, who forms so great a part of the teaching and morals of the Church, should be edited for the good of both sacred and secular studies.

'But since he could not himself possibly compass the editing of every author, he admitted others into the participation of this great glory, with the accustomed benignity and nobility of his mind, and with his Christian gentleness, and made it easy for them to tread in his steps towards the glory which, in such richness, was his lot; even when such men were ambitious and avaricious, and, at the same time, less in virtue and merit than himself.'

Vives then proceeds to speak gratefully of the allotment of the preparation of the text of the *Civitas Dei* to himself by Erasmus.

IV

Mark Pattison has said that the criticism of Erasmus in his texts of the New Testament and of the Fathers is of little or no value now, in view of the development of textual and expository criticism. So with Vives. Neither the text nor his Commentaries can claim attention now as apparatus for the elucidation of St. Augustine. They have long since been superseded. Yet Vives' Commentaries possess an incidental, though not an absolute value, not altogether unlike that of Erasmus, say, in his Adages. Vives, like Erasmus, delights in giving full play to his experiences of life, as well as to the results of his reading of ancient authors, whenever the passage which he is annotating suggests contemporary illustrations or allusions. It is precisely these occasions of irrelevancy or incidental loquacity which make Vives as well as Erasmus on occasion far from uninteresting reading, even to-day. For we find in these outbursts of self-expansiveness, due to a growing power of freedom of expression, a spontaneity which delights in stating newly born convictions and impressions, exactly as they present themselves to alert and inquiring minds, filled with a joyousness of the marvels of life, full of the freshness of youth of the Revival of Literature. Written in this spirit they are excellent annals of the times.

It is probable that if a small volume of selections were made from Vives' Annotations to the Civitas Dei, it would be recognized as an unsuspected source of information as to the opinions and methods of Humanists. It would be seen that in enthusiasm for the New Learning, in love and admiration for fellow-humanists, in earnestness of research, in fearlessness of inquiry into all subjects of thought, in hatred of corruptions and vigorous attack upon abuses, and even in originality and detachment from ecclesiastical tradition and domination, Vives' outlook is comparable in its stimulation and suggestiveness with that of Erasmus himself. Vives lacks something of Erasmus' charm and elasticity of expression, but his acuteness of perception in intellectual problems, and his soundness of judgement with regard to literary questions of the Revival of Learning, are almost as

prominent, whilst Vives is keenly alive, in a degree even higher than Erasmus, to the significance of the national and social problems of his times. It will only be possible in this article to illustrate some of these characteristics. Let us take: (1) Glimpses of Vives' friends; (2) Vives in condemnation of war; (3) the 'prohibited' passages in theology.

V

Vives had much in common with Sir Thomas More. For example, both More and Vives admired St. Augustine. Sir Thomas More had chosen for the subject of the lectures he had given at St. Lawrence Church, Old Jewry, the Civitas Dei, and had dwelt especially on the philosophical and historical rather than on the theological aspects. Vives quotes in his Commentaries (bk. ii. cap. vii.) a translation by Sir Thomas More of a passage from Lucian, and adds:

'We have rehearsed it in the words of Thomas More, whom to praise negligently, or as if we were otherwise employed, were grossness. His due commendations are sufficient to exceed great volumes. For who can worthily limn forth his sharpness of wit, his depth of judgement, his excellence and variety of learning, his eloquence of phrase, his plausibility and integrity of manners, his judicious foresight, his exact execution, his gentle modesty and uprightness, and his unmoved loyalty? unless in one word he will say they are all perfect, entirely absolute and exact in all their proportions? unless he will call them (as they are indeed) the patterns and lustres, each of his kind? I speak much, and many that have not known More will wonder at me; but such as have will know I speak but truth: so will such as shall either read his works, or but hear, or look upon his actions: but another time shall be more fit to spread our sails in this man's praises, as in a spacious Ocean, wherein we will take this full and prosperous wind, and write both much in substance, and much in value of his worthy honours: and that unto favourable readers.' 2

¹Cf. F. Seebohm, Oxford Reformers, 3rd ed. p. 143.

² Vives' Commentaries to the Civitas Dei (English translation by J. Healey), 1620, p. 57. Vives also wrote eloquent testimony of his love for More in the Preface to Pro Noverca Declamatio (Basle, 1538), pp. 186-7.

Vives' fullest character-painting is that of the great French scholar Guillaume Budé, the most learned Grecian of the early Renascence. In spite of its length, the account of Budé (the third member of the Triumvirate of Letters to which contemporary opinion admitted Erasmus and Vives) is worth recalling to the modern English reader:

'This man's sharpness of wit, quickness of judgement, fulness of diligence and greatness of learning, no Frenchman ever paralleled, nor any Italian. There is nothing extant in Greek or Latin but he hath read it and discussed it thoroughly. In both these tongues he is alike, and that excellently perfect. He speaks them both as familiarly as he doth French, his natural tongue; nay, I make doubt whether he speak them not better. He will read out a Greek book in Latin words ex tempore, and out of a Latin book, in Greek. . . . He writes with less pains both Greek and Latin than very good scholars in both these tongues can translate. . . . To all his singular gifts [of research and of expression] he hath attained by his own industry alone, without help of any master. O fertile wit, that in itself found both master, and scholar, and method of instruction! . . . I have not yet said anything of his knowledge in the law, which he alone hath begun to restore from ruin, nor of his Philosophy, whereof in his books de Asse he has given such proof. . . . What excels all else is an honesty congruent to all this learning, so rare and so admirable, that considered even without the other graces of wit and learning it might seem the world's miracle. neither honesty nor learning having a superior. He gives religion always the first place. Though having a wife and children. he was never drawn from his true square by any profit or by any study to augment his state: but evermore swayed both himself and his fortunes, and directed both. A man continually in Court, in Embassies, yet one who never followed Princes' favours, nor nouseled them with flatteries. . . . He was always a severer censurer of his own conditions than of any others'. Having offices which were the object of the greatest envy, he never found calumny from any tongue, nor incurred suspicion of any error, though he had to do with a free nation and a people as ready to accuse as froward to suspect.' 1

'Civitas Dei (Healey's trans.), pp. 74-75 (slightly altered in spelling and construction). Vives further wrote interesting testimony

Many references and allusions are merely incidental. Thus he refers to the Cardinal of Liège as having undertaken to send him the 'Anti-catones' of Caesar.¹ He quotes from Rodolph Agricola, *De Dialecticae Inventione*, and takes the opportunity to remark: 'I know not two authors in all our times nor in those of our fathers worthier of reading than Agricola the Frisian.' In pointing out an error of Politian, Vives adds:

'I would not have any man think this spoken in derogation from the glory of so great a scholar; for Politian is not to be rejected for being deceived—he was but a man. . . . It is no injury to reprehend either Politian or any man else of the cunningest in matter of antiquity.' ³

From Pico of Mirandola he quotes four views of Fate.⁴ He upbraids Laurentius Valla for identifying love with pleasure, and adds: 'But this is not the least nor the last absurdity in that book.' ⁵ He quotes James Perez the Spaniard on the authorship of the Psalms, discussing whether David wrote them all, and says of Perez 'my countryman, not so eloquent as learned.' ⁶ Other references to friends of Vives less well known to general readers are to Pedro Garsia, ⁷ the physician John Martin Poblacio, ⁸ and Nicholas Valdaura, of his wife's family. ⁹ There is also a reference to his mother, Blanche Vives. ¹⁰

In connexion with these personal references, others who gave Vives some help on details were Luis Nuñez Coronel; Paul, Bishop of Bruges; Jerome Ruffald; Nicholas Wotton; Philip Beroald; Andrew Alciat; and Mark Laurinus. 11

VI

In 1526 Vives wrote the first modern work on Poor-Relief, namely the De Subventione Pauperum, in which he

as to Budé in the Institutio Christianae Feminae, see Vives and the Renascence Education of Women (London: Edward Arnold), pp. 117-8.

¹ Healey's translation, p. 33. ² *Ibid.* p. 84. ³ *Ibid.* p. 267. ⁴ *Ibid.* p. 196. ⁵ *Ibid.* p. 297. Vives cites another error of Valla, *ibid.* p. 646. ⁶ *Ibid.* p. 604.

⁷ Ibid. p. 790. ⁸ Ibid. p. 845. ⁹ Ibid. p. 490. ¹⁰ Ibid. p. 439.

11 See Bonilla y San Martín, Vives, p. 113.

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besought the Town Council of Bruges to organize by its secular authority the provision for the poor. The sound principles advocated by Vives make him the Father of modern views on Poor-Relief. His social interest was very keen in many directions, but particularly in education and in international politics for the promotion of general peace. In his annotations to the Civitas Dei he has many passages in condemnation of war.1 Vives admits that the Jews waged wars by the express command of God.2 'But,' he argues, 'if they were counted godly that to please God (though against natural humanity) afflicted His enemies with war and slaughter: truly then we cannot but be held the most ungodly of the world that butcher up so many thousand Christians against the express will of God.' In another passage Vives asserts that St. Augustine 'makes fighting as far from Christian piety as religious humanity is from barbarous inhumanity.' 3 Quoting from the eighth book of the Oratorical Institutes of Quintilian the description of the sack of a city, Vives adds: 'Soldiers (as they are a most proud and insolent kind of men, without all mean and modesty) have no power to temper their avarice, lust, or fury in victory: and again, if they did not terrify the enemy by taking the town by violence, they might justly fear to suffer the like of the enemy.' 4 Again, he says: 'Truly fighting belongs neither to good men nor thieves, nor to any that are men at all, but is a right bestial fury, and therefore it was named Bellum, from bellua or beast.' 5 And in a note on discords among men, he writes:

'Man is wolf to man, as the Greek proverb saith.⁶ The stern lion fights not with the lion: nor doth the serpent sting the serpent: the beasts and fishes of the sea agree still with their own kind. But man doth man the most mischief. Dicaearchus (saith Tully) wrote a book of the death of men. He reckoned up inundations, plagues, burnings, exceeding

¹ Similar passages are to be found in other works of Vives—e.g. the De Concordia et Discordia, the De Disciplinis, and the Introductio ad Sapientiam.

² Healey's translation, p. 30.

⁸ Ibid, p. 34. ⁶ Pliny, lib. vii.

⁴ Ibid. p. 11.

⁵ Ibid. p. 150.

abundance of beasts and other external causes, and compares them with the wars and seditions wherewith man hath destroyed man, and finds the latter far exceed the former. This war amongst men Christ desired to have abolished, and for the fury of wrath to have grafted the heat of zeal and charity. This should be preached and taught, that Christians ought not to be at war, but to be at love one with another, and to bear one with another. Men's minds are already too forward to shed blood and do wickedly. They need not be set on.' 1

Lastly, there is the strong passage in Book XIX:

'The whole goodness of peace, and of that especially which Christ left us as His full inheritance, is gone, all but for the name and imaginary shade thereof. All the rest we have lost; nay, we have made a willing extrusion of it, and expelled it wittingly and of set purpose, imagining our whole felicity to consist in the tumults of wars and slaughters. And oh! so we brave it. that we have slain thus many men, burnt thus many towns, sacked thus many cities! We found our principal glories upon the destruction of our fellows. I may begin a plaint of this here, but I shall never end it.' 2

Vives' protests against war need to be emphasized, for when that erudite researcher, Dr. Westermarck, wrote his comprehensive historical account of the ethical attitude towards war,3 he entirely overlooked Vives, though he quotes the forcible passage from Erasmus' Adages.4

VII

Vives was not a Protestant hero of the Reformation. In his Commentaries to the Civitas Dei, he uttered revolutionary ideas in ecclesiasticism, and it is perhaps on this account that he has been rashly claimed as a Lutheran. But he expressed himself quite unmistakeably as opposed to Luther and regards him as a stirrer-up of strife. 5 Still more marked was the separation of Vives from Luther on account of the

¹ Healey's translation, p. 440. ² Ibid. p. 723.

³ The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas, chaps. xiv., xv.

⁴ Adagia, iv. 1, col. 893 seqq.

⁵ De Concordia et Discordia, Opera, V. p. 187, et seq.

attitude of the Lutheran towards humanism. In this point Vives ¹ agreed with Erasmus in his adverse criticism. Both felt: 'Wherever Lutheranism reigns, there good letters perish.' ² The 'little Latin and no Greek' which Vives ascribed to Luther made intellectual sympathy between the two impossible. Vives believed—to quote the words which Dr. Charles Beard used of Erasmus—'in the dissolvent power of culture' in making the necessary reforms in the Church.

The opinions of Vives banned by the Holy Office as unorthodox and dangerous doctrines have been tabulated 3 as follows:

- 1. That war between Christians is impious and against the will of God.⁴
- 2. That in antiquity only adult baptism was practised and 'that sundry times.' [Here Vives is only writing historically to illustrate St. Augustine, and does not express any opinion of his own.⁵]
- 3. Pompous titles of honour are 'the world's firebrands, and mankind's destruction, and doltish lawyers should be ashamed of jangling about them.' 6
- 4. Mendicant Orders of the Church should rather give than receive.⁷ Vives had much more to say on this topic when he wrote his *De Subventione Pauperum* in 1526.
- 5. That irreverent 'mysteries' should not be allowed in celebration of Christ's Passion and our redemption. Vives says:
 - ¹ De Disciplinis, bk. ii. cap. iii. Opera, VI. p. 89.

² Erasmus to Pirkheimer, Epistolae (1642 ed.).

³ Sr. D. Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín, Luis Vives y la Filosofía del Renacimiento (Madrid, 1903), pp. 119-20. He also gives a full account of the charges made by Antonius Possevinus against Vives (see pp. 616-7).

⁴ Healey's translation, p. 30.

⁷ Ibid. p. 273. Vives says that often 'the giver sits with a piece of brown bread and a few herbs and drinking water, and a great sort of children about him for whose sustenance he toileth day and night; the rich beggars (i.e. the Orders) are fed with white and purest bread, partridge and capons, and soaked in spiritful and delicious wines.'

- 'It is a custom to present plays almost as vile as the old stage-games. The very absurdity of such shows in so reverend a matter should condemn it, even if I said nothing about it. In them Judas is made to play the most ridiculous mimic, even when he betrays Christ. The Apostles are made to run away, and the soldiers follow, and all resounds with laughter. Then comes Peter and cuts off Malchus' ear, and then all rings with applause, as if Christ's betrayal were now revenged. By and by, this great fighter comes, and for fear of a girl, denies his Master, all the people laughing at her question, and hissing at his denial. In all these revels, Christ only is serious and severe, but He fails to move passion and sorrow in the audience, to the great shame both of the priests that present this, and the people that behold it.' ¹
- 6. That later divines contradict the Fathers, and if a man accepts the Fathers rather than the divines, present-day divines call him a heretic.²
- 7. That if we follow the true purity of our nature as distinguished from depraved opinion we should never sin: as Socrates says Virtue is natural, vice unnatural.³
- 8. That grace was given gradually to the orders of angels, not to each particular angel; whereupon some fell, some stood, though all had grace given them alike.⁴ [Vives is simply stating St. Augustine's doctrine.]

9. That God respects not the gift but the intention

of the giver.5

ro. That the Giants (mentioned in Genesis, chap. vi., were the fabulous gods of antiquity.⁶ [Vives mentions this as a speculation, but not as his own opinion.]

II. That the spiritual leaders (e.g. the Popes) ought to set an example of humility and poverty, and not to imitate

the conduct of Esau (bk. xvi. chap. xxxvii.)

12. That the priesthood is sought for gain, whilst it ought only to be undertaken for the sake of godliness. Vives boldly says: 'What priest doth not think he does well to spend the Church's goods with his sons, his brethren, his sisters, and his cousins; let the poor go shift where they

¹ Healey's translation, p. 320. ² *Ibid*. pp. 337-8. ³ *Ibid*. p. 401. ⁴ *Ibid*. p. 427. ⁵ *Ibid*. p. 511. ⁶ *Ibid*. p. 533.

can? Thus it will be while riches rule in the hearts of men.'

13. That the Babylon of St. Peter permits the purchase of 'almost any kind of cause, holy or hellish,' for money.²

14. That the histories of Susanna and of Bel (Daniel xiii. and xiv.) are apocryphal, neither written in Hebrew, nor translated in the Septuagint.³

A score of other passages condemned by the authorities occur in Vives' *Commentaries*, some of which are scathing attacks like those of Erasmus on divines and on scholastic dialecticians. Thus *e.g.* in one note he says: 'If Augustine lived nowadays, he would be held a pedant, or a petty orator, and Paul a madman or a heretic.' ⁴

The authorities, moreover, condemned a passage in which Vives stated his conviction that the newly discovered peoples

'in the faithless isles of the Ocean, and who had never heard of Christ, may attain the glory of a Christian by keeping the two abstracts of all the Law and the Prophets, perfect love of God and his neighbour. So great a blessing it is to be good. . . . The nations that have no law but nature are a law to themselves. The light of their living well is the gift of God coming from His Son: of Whom it is said: He is the light that lighteth every one that cometh into the world.' ⁵

And in another passage to the same effect, but still more general, which escaped the attention of the Expurgators:

'O what a few laws might serve man's life!... What needeth all these Digests, Codes, Glosses, Counsels, and Cautells? In how few words doth our great Master show every man his due course? Love thou Him who is above as well as thou canst, and who is next thee like thyself; which doing, thou keepest all the laws, and hast them perfect, which others attain with such toil, and scarcely keep with so many invitations and terrors. Thou shalt then be greater than Plato or Pythagoras, with all their travels and numbers; than Aristotle with all

Healey's translation, p. 595.
 Ibid. p. 660.
 Ibid. p. 675.
 Ibid. p. 469.
 Ibid. p. 694.

his quirks and syllogisms. What can be sweeter than love? Thou art taught neither to fear, fly, nor shrink.' 1

Such were the grounds of objection to Vives' Commentaries by the authorities of the Church, and the prohibition was promulgated of the publication of the work with these passages included. Accordingly editions were issued with the offending passages omitted.

The irony of the prohibition is that it was directed against a thoroughly faithful son of the Church. In the last work he wrote, a posthumous volume, *De Veritate Fidei Christianae* (Basle, 1543), Vives proclaimed, like Erasmus, his adhesion to the Roman Church. 'I submit myself,' he said, 'to the judgement of the Church, even if it appears to me to be in opposition to the strongest grounds of reason. For I may be in error, but the Church never is mistaken in matters of belief.' ²

FOSTER WATSON.

ART. VII.—TRINITY PARISH, NEW YORK.

- I. A History of the Parish of Trinity Church in the City of New York. Compiled by Order of the Corporation, and edited by Morgan Dix, S.T.D., D.C.L., Ninth Rector. Four volumes. (New York. 1898.)
- 2. The Memorial History of the City of New York. Edited by James Grant Wilson. Volume IV. (New York. 1893.)
- 3. An Historical Sketch of Trinity Church, New York.

 By the Rev. WILLIAM BERRIAN, D.D., the Rector of the same. (New York. 1847.)
- 4. Narrative of Events Connected with the Bicentennial Celebration of Trinity Church, New York, in May, 1897. (New York. 1898.)

¹ Healey's translation, p. 348.

² De Veritate Fidei Christianae, bk. i. chap. iii.

5. Year Book and Register of the Parish of Trinity Church in the City of New York, A.D. 1911. Published by Authority.

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It is not easy to explain to one outside the limits of the United States the pre-eminence of Trinity parish, in the city of New York. Its parish church stands like a sentinel facing the head of Wall Street, the centre of all American financial interests. Once its great spire rose commandingly far above the neighbouring edifices. Now that peculiar American abomination, the 'skyscraper,' surrounds Trinity Church on three sides, mounting so high toward the heavens, that the pedestrian on Broadway comes suddenly upon the remarkable sight, the dignified church in the midst of greenery, rising where he would least expect it. The high buildings give it an unique setting in their midst; while from Wall Street the church still crowns the perspective at the head of 'the street' that directs the finances of the New World. Over all that seething mass of busy humanity that throngs the street the dignified Gothic structure, dating from the middle Nineteenth century when Gothic architecture was almost unknown in America, breathes a spirit of religious repose.

Even more of a contrast to the commercialized life all about it is the quiet churchyard, by no means small, which nestles beneath the grey walls of the church. Speculators and reporters sometimes amuse themselves by computing the money value of that plot of land, in the very heart of crowded New York's most valuable business district. Nobody can say what the land devoted to the pious uses of the churchyard and the burial-place of the dead is 'worth'; its value would be computed by the square foot, and its aggregate would be an almost fabulous amount. But Trinity parish has always risen above any temptation to divert any part of this land from its religious use. The dead sleep peacefully now where they were laid to rest a century and more ago. Well to the fore is a monument to

the memory of Captain James Lawrence, naval hero in the unhappy war of 1812, of which Dr. Dix tells this quaint anecdote:

'The eight cannon, which form the posts for the enclosure (of the monument), were from the arms taken by the United States in the war of 1812. It is stated that each had an inscription noting the circumstances of its capture, and also that, by order of the vestry, with a courtesy worthy the imitation of all Christian bodies, they were buried so deep that no evidence of triumph should be paraded before the public eye, so as to seem unfriendly to the stranger within our gates.' 1

So the dead rest quietly beneath the soil that Trinity Church preserves for them free from the invasion of those who would desecrate it for secular purposes. The gates remain open, and the public is freely admitted to this breathing spot, which is particularly grateful when summer heat is reflected from city pavements and the high buildings effectually shut in the wayfarer on the busy streets.

Trinity Church is architecturally notable among American churches. The present edifice, the third church on the original site since the foundation of the parish, was voted by the American Society of Architects to be one of the ten best buildings in the United States and to be well toward the first among the ten. Its choir is especially ample and its appointments dignified. Under its stones lies buried the great Bishop Hobart (died 1830), who, in his episcopate of nineteen years, largely anticipated the Oxford Movement and did for the American Church, before Keble had preached his memorable Assize Sermon, much that the Oxford group of thinkers were later able to accomplish for the Church in England. There is a fine reredos and above it an east window that reminds one somewhat of the great east window of York Minster. In 1893 the account of Trinity Church contained in Wilson's History of the City of New York says of the church building:

'The present church still stands without a rival among our city churches; it has been somewhat enlarged from time to

Dix, History of Trinity Church, iv. 292.

time, and the interior has been magnificently adorned and decorated, but substantially it remains as when erected, the pride of the city and one of the most attractive of our public buildings.' ¹

Yet the distinction of Trinity Church is not chiefly architectural. Said the late Dean Hoffman, of the General Theological Seminary, in an appreciative address delivered on the occasion of the celebration of the Bi-Centennial of the parish:

'Trinity Church, from its earliest history until the foundation of the great Cathedral which is now being built on Cathedral Heights, has filled the position of a Cathedral not only for this diocese, but in a degree for the whole country. Within its walls have been held the great services which, from time to time, have solemnized or commemorated the principal events in the history of the nation. To it have resorted the representative people of this great city to sing their Te Deums for marked blessings vouchsafed to it, or to humble themselves in penitential litanies to avert the divine displeasure, when for our sins the land has been visited with pestilence that walketh in darkness, or desolated with civil war; while around it, and beneath it, in known and unknown graves, there sleeps the sacred dust of many of the mighty men who, in the varied walks of life, have been the founders and builders of the institutions which have given this country its place among the nations of the earth.

'Again, like a Cathedral, it has maintained for many years the daily worship of the sanctuary, holding up before other parishes an unvarying pattern of loyalty to our liturgy, and leading them, by example and practice, towards the highest form of prayer and praise which we are permitted to offer.

'Less than fifty years ago' (Dr. Hoffman was writing in 1897), 'there were but very few of our churches where the musical rendering of the Te Deum or the responses to the Commandments could have been introduced without arousing a protest from the congregation. And as late as 1862, when the Diocesan Convention of New Jersey, which met in Grace Church, Newark, was opened with a simple choral service, sung by a surpliced choir, arranged by the rector of the church, it created a storm in that staid body which lasted through all its sessions. If any one, in that day, had ventured to predict that in less

¹ Wilson, Memorial History of the City of New York, iv. 204.

than thirty years such services would be the rule in our leading parishes, and that this bicentennial would be celebrated with such a burst of choral song as we have heard this week, he would have been counted a fit subject for a lunatic asylum. For this and other real advances in our public worship, I do not hesitate to claim that we are largely indebted to the example of Trinity Church.' 1

This indebtedness to Trinity Church for a leadership in dignified worship is one in which the whole American Church shares. So far back as 1846, when the present church edifice was consecrated, a simple request to the clergy invited to the function that they would come provided with 'surplice and scarf' was the occasion of a formal protest made by nine clergymen who declined to attend, and of a bitter controversy in newspapers and elsewhere. From the time when the edifice was opened to the present day, Trinity Church usage has always been accepted as a standard of dignified worship; not, indeed, as a representative of a maximum of ceremonial, but as a thoroughly reverent, consistent, and loyal portrayal of the spirit of the Book of Common Prayer. At the same time there has been a musical leadership extending to the present day, and the organists of Trinity Church have been among the choral leaders of the American Church.

Nor is the work of Trinity parish confined to the parish church. At eight 'chapels,' some of them nearly as large and as dignified as the parish church itself, the Church's regular round of services is maintained, supported by the endowment of the parish. These chapels, except for those that are distinctly missionary, or social settlements, are not mere dependencies of the mother church, receiving her bounty but having no share in parochial responsibilities. Rather are they extensions of the parish church, planted at a distance from it for the convenience of parishioners, and their communicants and supporters are voters in the parish meetings for the election of vestrymen quite on a par with those who attend the mother church. Some of these chapels have a history that makes them landmarks

¹ Trinity Church Bi-Centennial, pp. 199-201.

in the annals of New York. St. Paul's Chapel, dating from 1766, the original edifice of which is still in use, has been the scene of some great historical events in American history. An unique work here maintained is a Sunday service weekly throughout the year at 2.30 A.M. for the benefit of night workers. On Christmas morning, 1911, some six hundred men were in attendance at this service, and the attendance is always considerable.

The other chapels have been erected within the past fifty or sixty years, as necessity suggested, for the accommodation of parishioners and for the extension of the Church among those who could not easily provide her ministrations for themselves. Some of these, as St. Augustine's and St. Chrysostom's, are located among the very poor and are strong forces for righteousness in degraded portions of the city. Another, St. Cornelius', on Governor's Island, in the harbour of the city, is maintained chiefly for work among the United States soldiers, the island being an army post. The extent of the spiritual activities of Trinity parish may be gathered from the fact that there are twentynine clergy giving their time wholly to the work of the parish and supported by its funds, all under the direction of the rector, the Rev. William T. Manning, D.D., while the number of lay workers, paid and voluntary, in the parish church and its chapels, is numbered well into the hundreds

And this brings us to the matter of the vast property held by Trinity parish as its endowment. That property is, indeed, only a fraction of what was originally granted to the parish. By the early part of the Nineteenth century, Trinity had given away, chiefly to other churches that had become necessary by reason of the growth of the city, nearly two-thirds of its estate. St. George's, St. Mark's, and Grace Church, now among the strongest independent parishes in the city, are among the largest beneficiaries of Trinity parish, while a valuable grant of land from its holdings was given to the Presbyterians in the late Eighteenth

¹ 'An Historic Retrospect,' by Rev. Wm. H. Vibbert, S.T.D., in Trinity Church Bi-Centennial Celebration, 1897, p. 144.

century, and another plot of six acres, now valued at many millions of dollars, was offered to Lutherans and was declined by them on the ground that it was not worth fencing in! This lavish encroachment upon its estate has necessarily been terminated, but even yet Trinity is a large benefactor to many religious, charitable, and philanthropic institutions wholly outside of its control, while the appropriations for the maintenance of educational and charitable work of the parish itself are annually more than double the amount thus expended. Of day schools alone there are seven thus maintained, in addition to other special classes and forms of educational work.

Where does the money come from for the maintenance of all this extensive work? The story is an interesting one, and it involves another story of the beginnings of English occupancy and English sovereignty in New York.

II

It will be remembered that though the English first explored the territory that now constitutes the city and the state of New York, Henry Hudson sailing up the river that still bears his name in 1600, the first actual settlers were Dutch, and the colony gradually passed into Dutch hands and was administered by Dutch governors. Throughout the Seventeenth century, however, English settlers continued to arrive. English supremacy, attained in 1664, was lost shortly after by Dutch re-occupation, and was again established in 1674. During these years of Dutch supremacy there is no trace of English services, in spite of the constantly growing English colony. The English governors, who succeeded after this, generally had their chaplains, but it was not until 1691 that steps were taken to make religious provision for the settlers. In that year an Act was passed by the New York Assembly providing for the election by the freeholders of the city of New York

¹ Grants for such purposes made during the fiscal year ending August 1, 1911, amounted to \$46,064.18—nearly £10,000—Year Book 1911, p. 59.

of a body consisting of two wardens and ten vestrymen with authority to choose a 'minister' for the city. The vestry thus chosen, however, proved to be controlled by Dissenters, and it was ordered by vote of that body 'that a Dissenting Minister be called to have the Cure of Souls in this City.' Governor Fletcher declined to concur in this resolution, and the vestry next chosen, after some threats of prosecution for doing nothing, somewhat grudgingly called William Vesey, a Churchman, not then in holy orders, but engaged in holding lav services, to be their 'minister.'

Members of the Church of England now felt it necessary to organize for their own protection, and accordingly a body termed 'Managers of the Affairs of the Church of England in the City of New York' was formed and began an active canvass, with the result that when the election of city vestrymen came about in 1606, these 'Managers' secured control for the Church. The call to Mr. Vesey was renewed; he accepted, and set sail for England in order to obtain ordination. From Oxford he received the degree of A.M., and on July 25, 1697, was ordained deacon by the Bishop of London, and priest on August 2, and set out upon the return journey to New York.

In the meantime it became evident to the Churchmen of that city that it was impossible for them to depend permanently upon the anomalous 'city vestry,' and a Royal Charter was therefore obtained for the newly formed parish of Trinity Church. This was in 1697. A church building, upon the site of the present noble edifice, was hastily erected, and it was recognized in the charter as the parish church. This Royal Charter, a voluminous document, was dated May 6, 1697. By another formidable Act passed by the General Assembly of the Colony in 1704 this Charter was confirmed and defined. It is a curious circumstance that where the language of the Royal Charter repeatedly refers to the Church as the 'Protestant Church of England,' a phrase used in the instrument no less than eleven times, clearly reflecting the then current mode of thought in the home land after the accession of William and Mary, the New York Act as uniformly omits the word

Protestant throughout, and invariably reads merely 'Church of England.' ¹ By the latter the name of the corporation of Trinity Church was declared to be 'the Rector and Inhabitants of the City of New York in Communion of the Church of England as by Law Established.' The Bishop of London, Dr. Henry Compton, was named as first rector. His portrait hangs to-day in the vestry room of the church, first among the portraits of the rectors of the parish since its foundation. Bishop Compton was succeeded by Mr. Vesey on the return of the latter from England after ordination.

Able now to hold property in its own right, Trinity Church received, in 1705, a tract of something more than a hundred acres in what is now the heart of the city, which tract was known as the 'King's Farm.' This property had come into possession of the Duke of York by confiscation from Governor Lovelace, who had previously purchased it, when the luckless governor was condemned for the loss of the port to the Dutch in 1673. Next it was granted by the Crown to the colonial governors as a perquisite of their office. The farm was leased to Trinity Church by two of the governors; and finally, in 1705, by royal patent it was given outright to the parish, by the corporate title already mentioned. Much of this extensive domain is still owned by Trinity parish. After the War of the Revolution the Constitution of the State of New York explicitly confirmed titles held from the Crown; and by legislative acts in the later years, the State limited the scope of voting rights in the parish to its own pew holders and communicants. There have been several litigations in which alleged heirs of those parties who originally sold this property to Governor Lovelace have sued to recover it, on pleas that the courts have always found to be frivolous, and the right of the parish to its extensive holdings has been fully vindicated. The assessed value of the property owned by the parish corporation for purposes of endowment, altogether in addition to its large but financially unproductive value

¹ Both instruments are printed in full in Dix's Parish of Trinity Church, i. 455-472.

in churches, cemeteries, schools, etc., was reported in 1911 to be slightly under \$13,000,000.¹ Great though this sum is, it is only about two-thirds of the actual market value of the estate. In addition, the assessed value of Trinity churchyard (again about two-thirds of its actual value) is \$16,400,000, and of St. Paul's Chapel between \$6,000,000 and \$7,000,000, while the other non-productive properties add several millions more, all of which properties are maintained by the parish at its own expense for the benefit of the city and the community. It is truly stated in one of the parish Year Books that Trinity Church probably holds in this way for the public good property of greater value than does any other church in the world.

Ш

The care of so great an estate is a grave responsibility from a purely financial standpoint, but it is a still greater care from the perspective of social responsibility. A large part of this huge sum is represented by dwelling houses erected, many of them, a century and more ago, and now located well down-town and occupied by one, two, or three families according to circumstances. Of these dwelling houses there are 366, containing accommodation for 882 families. There are in addition ten structures erected some vears ago as model tenements. There is also a considerable amount of property in which the land is owned by the parish Corporation but which was leased for long terms many years ago. Upon this buildings were erected by the lessees over which Trinity has no control. The dwellinghouse property of the parish has in times past been the subject of severe criticism. Much of this criticism was unfounded, applying only to property on leased ground which the parish could not control; and whatever cause there was for such criticism has now been wholly removed.

Shortly after the beginning of the present rectorship, in 1909, a systematic inspection and thorough investigation of the dwelling-house properties of the parish Corporation

¹ Year Book 1911, p. 68.

was made, on request of its property committee, by the Tenement House Committee of the Charity Organization Society of the city of New York, in order that any possible abuses might be disclosed and remedied, and that the parish might indeed become a model landlord in its relation to its tenants. Dr. Manning, the rector, had been insistent upon this point from the beginning of his administration. In a sermon preached in 1908, shortly after his rectorship began, he spoke as follows:

'The condition of much of the property is good; the condition of none of it is anything like so bad as has frequently been asserted; but, having said this, I must also say, on the other hand, that there are important improvements which need to be made, and that there is some of the property the condition of which is far from being what it ought to be, and from being what we intend that it shall be. This unsatisfactory situation cannot always be avoided, for property of this sort comes to us at the expiration of the leases in a run-down and exhausted condition and constitutes, at least temporarily, a difficult problem. Whatever the difficulties, however, I say unhesitatingly that, as property owners, our responsibility for the condition of any dwelling-house property owned by the parish is the most vital and fundamental, and one of the most sacred of all the obligations resting upon us, and that we are bound to do everything in our power to meet this responsibility. The long leases under which much of the property has been held have many of them expired, and we are able now to deal with this property in a way which, some time ago, would not have been possible. . . . I hold that in this matter we ought to set not only a high standard, but the very highest. Far better, if necessary, that all our charities should be given up and all our churches and schools closed than that we should maintain any of them by revenue derived from property in an unsanitary or questionable condition.' 1

The thorough survey of the property already mentioned was the beginning of an active realization of the policy thus stated. The investigation covered a period of four months, and was made by some of the best trained social workers in the city, under the direction of Lawrence Veiller, Director of the Committee mentioned, formerly Secretary

of the State Tenement House Commission. At its conclusion a very full report was prepared by Miss Emily W. Dinwiddie, Secretary of the Investigating Committee, covering the findings that had been made. 'No effort has been spared,' reads this report, 'to get at the real conditions. The searchlight has been turned on every phase of the housing problem and every bad condition found has been disclosed.' 1

This report is a model of its kind. Everything in the vast domain has been viewed by experts in the housing problem and tested by the most advanced views of sociologists. Some conditions requiring amendment were reported, various suggestions were made for improvements. Yet on the whole the management of the parish Corporation as a landlord was abundantly vindicated. 'In general it may be said,' was the conclusion, 'that sensationally bad conditions were not found in the tenements and smaller dwelling houses owned and controlled by Trinity Church. A very considerable majority are in good condition; a minority have defects, and a very few are in bad condition.' ²

And as to the question whether it would be better for the parish to replace these dwelling houses by business blocks, the answer is in the negative.

'It would seem very desirable, from the point of view of the tenants,' says the report, 'that Trinity should improve the buildings needing improvement, and continue to maintain as residences the houses of all the grades with the exception of a very few old frame, or largely frame, buildings in poor condition and obviously not worth repair. The destruction of all the houses, followed by their replacement by business buildings, would displace a population of several thousand persons, driving them probably into inferior quarters at higher rents and increasing over-crowding. If some of the buildings must be destroyed, however—from the point of view of the tenants still—it would seem desirable to replace them by model tenements. These would be sanitary, safe homes with certain additional conveniences, although without many of the most prized advantages of existing houses, such as large rooms, individual use of

¹ Year Book, 1909, p. 386. The report is printed in full in this publication, pp. 386-399.

² Ibid. p. 399.

halls and yards, few steps to climb from the streets; playspace for children and reasonable quiet even with the windows open, which, where there are families with children, is difficult to secure even in many of the model tenements with bedrooms on inner courts, where one crying baby keeps all the families on the court awake on a summer night and makes a strong inducement to keep the windows closed in winter.' ¹

In order to carry out the recommendations of the Report with the greatest degree of efficiency possible, Miss Dinwiddie, its author, was later added to the paid working staff of the parish, and is now charged with the continuous duty of inspecting the property and of making recommendations as to its maintenance. In 1911, also, a thorough investigation was made by the fire department of the city, in order that fire risk to the tenants might be reduced to a minimum, and its ensuing recommendations also were carried out at a cost of more than \$100,000.

Thus Trinity parish fills a novel place in the great city in whose history it has such an honourable part. It is a great and a beneficent landlord. The net income from its estate is less than might be anticipated from its large valuation, by reason of the low rentals charged to tenants. From a strictly financial standpoint a much better investment could easily be made than that whereby such valuable land in the heart of the city is occupied by very modest dwelling houses, surrounded, generally, by a considerable grass plat. In retaining this form of investment, and continuing its low scale of rentals, Trinity Church is acting from the highest motives and is protecting the interests of its large number of tenants. The income from the property is used for the maintenance of the churches, schools, and institutions of the parish, and is supplemented by offerings exceeding \$100,000 annually from the parishioners themselves. During the year just passed active efforts have been made in the interest of general missions. the whole parish, including all the chapel congregations, having been canvassed for weekly offerings for that purpose.

IV

It remains only to say that the line of rectors of Trinity parish, from Henry Compton, Bishop of London, the titular rector at the time of the organization of the parish in 1697, is a roll of men of large distinction. Charles Inglis (1777-1783), forced by reason of his loyalty to the Crown to flee from the city, was consecrated in 1787 to be Bishop of Nova Scotia, the first English colonial bishop to be commissioned. The next three rectors, Samuel Provoost, Benjamin Moore, and John Henry Hobart, were also bishops of New York without retiring from their parochial charges. The long rectorships of William Berrian (1830-1862) and Morgan Dix (1862-1908) carried the parish to the beginning of the present administration. Both these priests, but particularly Dr. Dix, were leaders of thought in their day, Dr. Dix serving several terms also as President of the House of Deputies in General Convention. A chapel in his memory, connected with the parish church, is now in course of erection. The present rector is the Rev. William T. Manning, D.D., whose rectorship dates from 1908. Dr. Manning has insisted upon a policy of publicity with respect to the financial affairs of the parish, which had hitherto been deemed confidential, and has taken advanced ground concerning the social responsibility of the parish for the welfare of its tenants, as shewn in the narrative already told, and in the matter of the missionary duty of the parish. Never before have the parish activities, whether in the mother church or in its chapels, been so extensive or so efficient as at the present time. Moreover, spiritual matters have stood first; they have not been subordinated even to the great social work that has been inaugurated. The high ideals of spiritual life, of worship, and of teaching that have been traditional at Trinity Church for at least a century have been fully maintained.

'I pray,' said Dr. Manning in a vigorous sermon on 'The Policy of Trinity Parish' preached on Low Sunday, 1909, when the parish was undergoing bitter and unjust criticism, 'that this parish may never be led into the mistake of giving to the Second

Commandment of our Lord Jesus Christ the place that belongs to His First and still greater Commandment, or of allowing Work in any measure to usurp the place of Worship. . . . May these, then, be our two watchwords: "Faith and Service." 1

The number of communicants reported in 1911 was 8610, which is approximately one-tenth of the whole number in the diocese of New York. To attempt to enumerate the various organizations and institutions for spiritual and philanthropic work within the parish would extend this article far beyond the limits which must be observed.

FREDERIC COOK MOREHOUSE.

SOME BOOKS ON ST. PAUL.

- I. The Earlier Epistles of St. Paul, their Motive and Origin. By KIRSOPP LAKE, M.A. (Oxon.), Professor of New Testament Exegesis and Early Christian Literature in the University of Leiden. (Rivingtons. 1911.) 16s. net.
- 2. Paul and his Interpreters. A Critical History. By Albert Schweitzer, Privatdozent in New Testament Studies in the University of Strassburg. Translated by W. Montgomery, B.A., B.D. (A. and C. Black. 1912.) 7s. 6d. net.
- 3. The Religious Experience of Saint Paul. By Percy Gardner, Litt.D., F.B.A. 'Crown Theological Library.' (Williams and Norgate. 1911.) 5s. net.
- 4. St. Paul. A Study in Social and Religious History. By Adolf Deissmann, D.Theol. (Marburg), D.D. of Aberdeen, St. Andrews, and Manchester, Professor of New Testament Exegesis in the University of Berlin. Translated by Lionel R. M. Strachan, M.A., English Lecturer in the University of Heidelberg. (Hodder and Stoughton. 1912.) 10s. 6d. net.
- 5. La Théologie de Saint-Paul. Par F. Prat, S.J. Deuxième Partie. 'Bibliothèque de Théologie Historique publiée
 - ¹ The Policy of Trinity Church. A sermon. New York, 1909.

- sous la direction des Professeurs de Théologie à l'Institut Catholique de Paris.' (Paris: Gabriel Beauchesne et Cie. 1912.) 6 fr.
- 6. The Christology of St. Paul. Hulsean Prize Essay with an Additional Chapter. By the Rev. S. NOWELL ROSTRON, M.A., Vicar of St. Lawrence, Kirkdale, late Principal of St. John's Hall, Durham. 'Library of Historic Theology.' (Robert Scott. 1912). 5s.
- 7. A Plea for a Reconsideration of St. Paul's Doctrine of Justification. By the Rev. E. J. Watson Williams, M.A., B.D. (J. and J. Bennett, Ltd. 1912). 4s.

WE must begin with an apology to our readers and to the authors for our dilatory treatment of some of these books, and we would only say that this does not imply any disrespect. We were so impressed with their merits that our intention had been to devote a full and careful article to the various points raised. Time and opportunity have failed us, and we must now be content with according them a shorter but, we hope, equally respectful notice.

Mr. Lake's book on the earlier Epistles of St. Paul is one of the ablest works on its subject which we have met for some time, and will raise his reputation very considerably as a scholar. It deals primarily with the questions usually classed as Introduction, but includes under that heading an examination of religious ideas prevalent in the world in which Christianity was preached, and arrives at some general conclusions as to the character of the development of the early Church. In the treatment of questions of Introduction we have been struck with the extreme lucidity of Mr. Lake's expositions, and the great pains that he takes to look at the question from all sides, and we know no book better fitted to be put into the hands of students who are being introduced to these questions. He begins with a discussion of the Apostolic Council and reproduces the very able dissertation on the text of the Apostolic decree which appeared in the Church Quarterly Review (January 1911). The authenticity of 2 Thessalonians is defended against Wrede on lines suggested by Harnack. We do not ourselves think that there is much importance to be attached to either the attack or the defence. The whole controversy is purely Teutonic. The very difficult question of the relations of St. Paul to the Corinthian Church is dealt with upon the hypothesis that

2 Corinthians has been put together out of two or three different letters, 2 Cor. x.-xiii. being earlier than 2 Cor. i.-ix.. and being the severe letter there mentioned. This section is largely based on Dr. Kennedy's work. A theory of conflation is more probable in the case of 2 Corinthians than of any other epistle, but, if the alternative be possible, the balance of argument in our opinion is always in favour of taking documents as they have come down to us. Reconstruction of early documents, unless there is external evidence to assist us or unless the variations in style are very marked, is always hazardous. The 'South Galatian' theory is rightly defended, but the difficulties of the problem are not ignored. It never seems to us that the authority of Lightfoot weighs much against this. A very real addition to our knowledge of the historical geography of Asia Minor has been made since he wrote, and we may reasonably believe that with the increased knowledge before him he would have changed his mind. Then follows an admirably lucid and balanced discussion of the very difficult problems concerning the date of the Galatian Epistle, and the relations of the historical narrative contained in it to that in the Acts. We should hesitate in the present state of the question to express our opinion, but are inclined to think that the literary argument which would prevent us from separating the epistle too far from Romans should bear considerable weight. There is a long discussion on the integrity and destination of Romans. We do not think that the solution suggested, that St. Paul added the last two chapters later, is a possible one. Chapter xiv. and the first half of xv. form one argument, and must have been written at the same time. We believe that the long form represents the original, that it was sent to the Romans, and that it was cut short either simply for liturgical purposes, or perhaps more probably by Marcion.

Of other questions discussed we must lay great value on the strong insistence there is throughout on the fact that in all cases we are dealing with 'letters,' that they presuppose and do not teach what Christianity is, that the opinions propounded are those of St. Paul on difficult and doubtful points, and do not constitute 'Paulinism,' which is a figment of the Teutonic brain, just as are the remarkable reconstructions of 'Urchristianismus' which Mr. Lake rightly criticizes. It is interesting to notice that Mr. Lake thinks that St. Peter may have preached at Corinth, and that very possibly he was the founder of the Roman Church; he also considers that he was an adherent of the Pauline rather than the Judaizing party in the Church. If this be

correct it represents the most complete reversal possible of the position of the Tübingen school. This leads Mr. Lake to pronounce a eulogy on Baur and his followers and a rebuke on those who criticize them. We do not think the rebuke deserved. We have for the last fifty years had the results of German scholarship held up to us for acceptance; we have been told that they represent the true spirit of investigation unbiassed by theological prepossessions; and we have been bidden on their authority to give up much of what we have held to be sacred and true. They have been responsible for a large amount of the disbelief and doubt which has prevailed in academic circles. When we are told that almost all their conclusions are untrue (and there is no doubt of the fact) we are bound to emphasize the statement as strongly as possible, and it must make us very distrustful of the whole of modern German New Testament criticism.

We shall postpone until we have considered other works Mr. Lake's treatment of the Sacraments, but will only conclude our notice with pointing out how emphatic he is that Catholic Christianity (i.e. the theology and life of the Christian Church in the Second and Third centuries) represents the normal and organic development of primitive Christianity.

'The Dutch school represents a new and independent criticism of the Protestant view that Catholic Christianity is a degenerate form of primitive Christianity. It sees that the Epistles belong to Catholic Christianity, and argues that they are, therefore, late. The true conclusion is that Catholic Christianity is, therefore, primitive.' ¹

In the translation of Schweitzer's book on St. Paul by Mr. Montgomery those who are acquainted with his former work will expect to find something vigorous and decided, and they will not be disappointed. We are not quite sure that it is so good as the previous volume, the epigrams seem a little more forced, but perhaps it is that the style is one which somewhat palls. The book is mainly devoted to a vigorous and, as we believe, thoroughly justified condemnation of the whole trend of the modern German interpretation of St. Paul. In particular he will have nothing of the idea that St. Paul has anything to do with the Hellenization of Christianity, and is very scornful of the modern tendency to find the mystery-religion everywhere. We entirely agree with these conclusions.

The work of Professor Gardner, 'The Religious Experience of Saint Paul,' forms an admirable representative for English

readers of the theories that Schweitzer condemns. We must again apologize for delay in dealing with it. Dr. Gardner writes in a pleasant and attractive style. There is a genuine air of real piety about his works on religion, and a scholarly tone which is most attractive, but the picture that he gives us of St. Paul seems to us singularly unconvincing. He turns the Apostle to the Gentiles into a mild and cultivated Hellenic gentleman, with a certain amount of religious experience, a little mysticism, a gentle and kind morality, and a great distaste for dogma or theological discussion. Professor Gardner has really projected into the First century of our era the sentiments of a cultivated Oxford don of the present day. We have not space to enter into a full discussion of the question, but we would point out that Professor Gardner is put wrong to begin with by the word 'mystery': that word in St. Paul comes, not from the Hellenic mysteries, but from the Jewish Apocalyptic literature; it has nothing to do with 'mysteries' in the technical sense of the word, but means the secret of God's plan for the world as revealed in Christ Jesus, and denotes, therefore, the whole Christian dispensation. The great development of the mysteries belonged to the Second and not to the First century, and as regards Mithraism it is much more likely that it was influenced by Christianity than the reverse. And, as Schweitzer points out, the type of mystery-religion which is supposed to have influenced Christianity is largely the creation of a somewhat vivid historical imagination working on a very slight historical basis. What is really true is that there were religious needs and tendencies in the world to which the ideas of redemption, the gift of the Spirit, the Sacraments and the Church, and all the great truths of Christianity would appeal with tremendous force.

We would conclude our notice of these three books by comparing their views on the Sacraments. Professor Gardner finds an original nucleus which meant little or nothing, and considers that the development of the sacramental idea was due to Hellenic influence. Schweitzer is so certain that everyone is wrong, and splashes about his paint in such thick daubs of strong colours, that it is a little difficult to find what he really thinks. He is quite certain there is nothing Hellenic about St. Paul, he is quite certain that St. John is all Hellenic, he does not seem to be clear what is the relation of sacraments to our Lord. This is what he says of St. Paul:

'The sacramental is therefore non-rational. The act and its effect are not bound together by religious logic, but laid one upon

the other and nailed together. With that is connected the fact that in Paul we find the most prosaic conception imaginable of the *opus operatum*. In the Mystery-religions there is a mysterious procedure surrounded by imposing accessories. The impressive appeal of symbolism is brought to bear in every part. Every detail is significant, and lays hold upon the attention. In Paul everything is flat and colourless.' ¹

We really do not know what all this means.

Of the relation of the Sacraments to our Lord, he says in one place:

'The naïve—and unhistorical—conception that Jesus instituted the sacraments is not recognised by the Johannine gnosis. According to it He did not establish them, but created and predicted them.' ²

But elsewhere he speaks less decidedly:

'Whether the Lord's Supper in the intention of Jesus Himself directly conveyed something to the partakers, or whether it only became a sacrament in primitive Christian times, must be left undecided.' ³

Mr. Lake is much more illuminating. He examines the situation at Corinth and shews clearly that there are two conceptions that we must distinguish, that of St. Paul and that of the Corinthians. St. Paul has throughout to defend the Sacrament against an unethical and magical conception. His own conceptions were not unethical. But Mr. Lake does not doubt the primitive character of the Sacraments:

'Baptism is, for St. Paul and his readers, universally and unquestioningly accepted as a "mystery" or sacrament which works ex opere operato; and from the unhesitating manner in which St. Paul uses this fact as a basis for argument, as if it were a point on which Christian opinion did not vary, it would seem as though this Sacramental teaching is central in the primitive Christianity to which the Roman empire began to be converted.'

There are other similar passages. Mr. Lake does not commit himself definitely on the relation of the sacramental idea to the teaching of our Lord. Also we do not think he really understands St. Paul's point of view. Always with the Apostle there are two concurrent factors. 'Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling, for it is God that worketh in you.' And this is true of sacraments and of life. Man's salvation depends upon his will co-operating with the Divine will. Fr. Prat's work will correct Mr. Lake here.

Mr. Lake, although he writes sometimes in an exaggerated way, is bringing back criticism to reason because he sees that the straightforward story as told in the Gospels and Epistles is more likely to be true than modern imaginings, and that whatever difficulties there may be about details we only confuse the whole history by inventing an entirely unreal 'Urchristianismus,' for which there is no historical authority, and which has no existence except in the imagination of its inventors.

And the same is true of German criticism. Schweitzer tells us that it has failed completely. 'The study of Paulinism has nothing very brilliant to show for itself in the way of scientific achievement. Learning has been lavishly expended upon it, but thought and reflection have been to seek.' He has told us the same of the study of the life of Christ. Except in so far as he is historical his own methods do not convince us, although his criticism is obviously true. And the ultimate reason why German erudition has failed, as it always will fail, is that it tries to explain the origin of Christianity on the supposition that it is either untrue or half true. Its obvious failure is one of the most significant facts in historical criticism.

Professor Deissmann is well known to English readers by his work 'Licht vom Osten,' which has been translated under the title 'Light from the Ancient East.' In it he collects together all the illustrations which papyri, inscriptions and other archaeological discoveries have thrown on the New Testament. Although there was a great deal that was interesting, it did not add so much as is claimed to our knowledge. His work on St. Paul is largely on the same lines, and has the same defects. He has travelled twice in the East, visiting almost every place mentioned in the New Testament, and attempts to realize the mind and labours of the Apostles in the light of climate, of scenery, of animated life and archaeological knowledge. On this side the book is rhetorical and diffuse in style, it breathes an air of somewhat Teutonic piety, it will interest a certain class of readers, but it does not help us to understand the real problems of the Apostle's life. It may help, however, to correct the ordinary tendencies of German theological erudition.

The second point in the book is the interpretation of St. Paul's thought on the basis of his religious experience. Of course it is true that St. Paul's religion is more than his theology, that he felt what he believed, that his spiritual life was intensely

real; but that is not a justification for thinking that the word 'experience' and that very convenient term 'mysticism' will save us from the obligation of understanding the Apostle, nor will it justify attacks on theologians who have attempted, however imperfectly, to understand the intellectual side of his life. We often wonder what passages such as the following mean:

'This word 'highly-exalted' is characteristically Pauline, and although it afterwards gave a very strong stimulus to the development of dogma, it was originally not a dogmatic expression itself, but a religious formulation of a conviction about Christ in plain popular style.'

What is the difference between a 'dogmatic expression' and a 'religious formulation'? Of course theology without religion is arid, of course many theologians have been hard and narrow, but that does not make it any more correct to interpret St. Paul on the basis of religious sentimentality. St. Paul experienced, because he believed. His belief was based on intellectual grounds. He tried to find a strong intellectual foundation for his creed. He argued out every point. His methods of thought were different from ours, and that is why he is so hard to understand; but to interpret him as an exponent of undogmatic Christianity is to be blind to the meaning of his writings.

The work on the 'Theology of Saint Paul,' by the Jesuit Father Prat, of which the second volume lies before us, and which is published as part of the 'Bibliothèque de Théologie Historique,' under the direction of the Professors of the Institut Catholique at Paris, presents a remarkable contrast to those which we have just considered. The author assumes that he is dealing with an inspired book forming part of the Christian revelation, that it teaches us what is true about divine things. and that it is worth while spending any amount of trouble to find out what is true. He is not much concerned with the relations of St. Paul to Jewish thought, and only occasionally quotes illustrations; he does not again discuss the exact relation of St. Paul's teaching to that of our Lord, nor is he concerned to shew the resemblances which may be found in heathen thought. But for all that he is not unhistorical in his treatment. He arranges his material, not so as to fit into the scheme of modern Roman theology, but so as to bring out what he considers to be St. Paul's leading ideas. There is little specifically Roman about his teaching, and he has made use of modern investigation with discrimination.

What is Paulinism? 'The Gospel of Paul is not so much a particular thesis as the whole sum of evangelical doctrine looked at from a particular point of view,' 1 and that point of view is redemption. 'En tout état de cause, la théologie de Saint-Paul est une sotériologie.' But in this redemption the most characteristic feature of the theology is the life in Christ.

'La formule *In Christo Jesu* embrasse la rédemption entière, depuis sa première idée dans l'intelligence divine et son exécution potentielle au Calvaire jusqu'à sa réalisation successive en chacun de nous et sa consommation finale dans l'éternité.' ²

The material is thus arranged to bring out this point of view: 'Préhistoire de Rédemption,' including 'L'humanité sans le Christ' and 'L'initiative du Père;' 'La personne du Rédempteur,' 'L'Œuvre de la Rédemption,' 'Les Canaux de la Rédemption,' 'Les Fruits de la Rédemption.' And throughout the essential idea embodied in the conception of the union of mankind in Christ is emphasized. It is the 'Principe de la Solidarité' that gives unity to the work of the Redeemer, that makes the whole scheme of theology real, that explains the Sacraments, inspires the life of the Church, and is the basis of Christian morality. Always 'we are in Christ.'

We notice with interest that the same explanation of the relation of the Divine predestination to human free will is given which is worked out in Sanday and Headlam's edition of the Romans, and that the same quotations are used throughout to illustrate it. As Fr. Prat does not in this case make any acknowledgment we suppose that he has arrived at his conclusions

independently.

What he writes on the relation of faith to baptism is to us admirable:

'C'est en effet l'union au Christ qui nous fait enfants de Dieu, et cette union est opérée par la foi et par le baptême; mais ni l'union effective du baptême ne peut se produire sans l'union affective de la foi, ni l'union affective de la foi sans quelque relation intrinsèque à l'union effective du baptême; c'est parce que l'union affective de la foi tend essentiellement à l'union effective du baptême qu'elle devient elle-même effective; et les deux conceptions, loin d'être opposées, se rejoignent.'

On the other hand Fr. Prat shews himself, like most Romanists,

entirely incapable of understanding what St. Paul meant by

Justification by Faith.

Fr. Prat's book extends to 580 closely printed pages, and has many long notes in small print, but it is, like most French books, easy to read, and is a far better exposition of the theology of St. Paul than most works with which we are acquainted. To interpret St. Paul properly two things are needed, the historical point of view and the acceptance of the Catholic faith. Fr. Prat has both these qualifications to a considerable extent. He is historical, although perhaps he might be more so, and his Romanism seldom obscures his Catholicity.

Mr. Nowell Rostron's book on the 'Christology of St. Paul' was originally written as an essay for the Hulsean Prize and is now published in the 'Library of Historic Theology.' It is a thorough and careful piece of work. The author begins by discussing the general conditions of New Testament criticism. We notice with interest that he is prepared to accept the genuineness of the Pastoral Epistles, although he is cautious in using them. Professor Deissmann also was not inclined to speak dogmatically on the other side. He then discusses St. Paul's religious development, and quite rightly holds with Professor Harnack that 'Notwithstanding Paul's Greek culture, his conception of Christianity is, in its deepest sense, independent of Hellenism.' The chapter on the Messiah is to our minds one of the best. He brings out very clearly how all the different lines of Jewish expectation are united in St. Paul's conception of the Christ. His discussion, too, of the 'Second Adam'—an idea which he shews to be in harmony with Jewish traditions-is good. He quite rightly lays great stress on St. Paul's conception of the redeeming work of Christ, but we do not think his interpretation really good, although he realizes (like Fr. Prat and in the same language) the representative character of the death of Christ-'the principle of solidarity.' He then considers Christ as Eternal. Christ as immanent (he rather exaggerates the influence of the Logos doctrine on St. Paul), Christ as transcendent, as perfect God and perfect man. The typical Pauline doctrine of life 'in Christ' he derives from St. Paul's 'experience'—that is of course true, but experience expresses itself in accustomed language and under recognized forms, and it is a further question how much we owe to the teaching of Jesus Himself. The work closes with a discussion of recent Christological theories. Although not original in idea or expression, the book is a useful discussion of the subject in the light of current theories

Mr. Watson Williams in 'A Plea for a Re-consideration of St. Paul's Doctrine of Justification' asks us to revise our interpretation of δικαιοσύνη.

'This δικαιοῦν οτ λογίζεσθαι δικαιοσύνην is not ascribing righteousness, which is not there, to the man, who is, in fact Godless (which appears to mean ascribing a righteous moral character to a man who is not such an one), but a statutory making qualified or eligible for salvation such and such men (even though they had been before not fearing God) who otherwise could never have become eligible, by decreeing that such and such a thing (viz. faith in Jesus) should be the qualification.'

Mr. Williams' criticism of the ordinary interpretation is not made more effective by taking the extraordinary language which Pfleiderer uses. How a man who has 'faith' could be described as 'in fact Godless' is very difficult to understand. We can understand how a man who has faith could be described as not really righteous in the Pharisaic sense of fulfilling the whole law. Nor do we think that his picture of the process is any more attractive than the 'forensic' interpretation, stated in its most severe form.

He doubts the ordinary interpretation of both δικαιοσύνη and λογίζεσθαι. δίκαιος means qualified for salvation. The word δικαιοῦν does not mean to reckon righteous, but to make qualified.' λογίζεσθαι είς δικαιοσύνην means 'to officially reckon as constituting a qualification for salvation.' (Mr. Williams is responsible for the split infinitive.) This position is supported by a very thorough examination of Hebrew and Greek usage. It is so near the truth as to be plausible, but it is not correct—δίκαιος means 'righteous in the sight of God,' it is technically used always with a Godward reference: but neither in St. Paul nor elsewhere is it or can it be used with no 'moral' signification, because God is moral and righteous, and the word δικαιοσύνη must be used in relation to man with a similar sense to that in which it is used in relation to God. 'Faith is reckoned as equivalent to righteousness in the Pharisaic sense of the word, as that which commends a man to God.'

But Mr. Williams' dissertation is valuable, and although he overstates his case the perusal of it will tend to correct erroneous conceptions of the meaning of St. Paul's theology.

Let us conclude this review of these very varied works on St. Paul with a characteristic quotation from Schweitzer: 'The odd thing is that they write as if they understood what they were writing about.' This is true of many books on Paulinism, and is certainly true of Schweitzer himself.

THE PEOPLE OF GOD.

The People of God: an Enquiry into Christian Origins. By H. F. Hamilton, D.D., formerly Professor of Pastoral Theology in the University of Bishop's College, Lennoxville, Canada. Two volumes. Vol. I. Israel. (Frowde. 1912.) 18s. net. the two volumes.

Suppose the whole world and its history, past, present, and to come, depicted as a vast space of water moving and murmuring, 'parted from its home.' Suppose a defined current running through the midst, drawn by an influence above itself to the desired goal, and absorbing as it runs those outer waters. There, stated pictorially, is the argument of Dr. Hamilton's book. Revelation is a distinct gift of God. It was given to Israel through the Prophets, and recorded authoritatively in the Old Testament. Our Lord recognized that authority and enlarged it by His own authority, divinely and directly received. The Christian Church carries on the same revelation. The other religions of mankind, enjoying intellectual, moral, or traditional aspirations, but lacking that distinct revelation, must find salvation by becoming spiritually subject to the one faith, which lives by revelation and inherits an organized system.

The author is learned, yet less learned than thoughtful; a disciple of Butler rather than of Hooker. He seems to have brooded over the problem, meditating by himself. The result is an independent, vigorous utterance, breathed out, as it

were, at one jet.

He starts from the Old Testament. He acknowledges the debt of this generation to criticism; it has freed us from the burden of the impossible. But he complains that it has robbed the Scriptures of their authority. Their inspiration is to be proved now by their conformity with the doctrine of our Lord. But that was not how our Lord Himself used them. He recognized them as absolutely inspired and authoritative. He proved His own claims by them. And if He superseded part of them, He did this by that authority of His own which He had received as being the Christ foretold by them.

To this view of the Old Testament Dr. Hamilton would bring men back. The dream of verbal inspiration has vanished; it cannot but be that the Old Testament should be read critically. But its old authority endures because it must still be recognized as expressing direct revelation to a particular people; it is

the record of Israel's assurance that Yahweh is the one true God. Then that phrase 'one God' is examined. The difference between the ancient and the modern common sense of religion is displayed. To the modern it is absurd to think of more Gods than one; in the ancient world it was all the other way. An Akhnaton might propose a monotheism, but to the mass that was as though a modern tried to believe in fauns or mermaids. Political and other events broke down polytheism at last, but it was the speculative philosophy of the Greeks that really effected the change. The conception of natural causes and the conviction that the ultimate cause was one opened a new intellectual atmosphere. Then Socrates inquiring into morals, and Plato yearning for God, inaugurated a deeper theology. But it was a theology of doubt, the achievement of man's mind working its own way through the obscurity of nature to a hidden, only immanent deity.

In Israel too polytheism was common sense up to the time of the Captivity. The Old Testament however represents the triumph of another principle conflicting with this. The conflict was absolutely different from the intellectual movement of the Greeks. There was no vague thought of 'deity.' Prophets and people alike started from unquestioning recognition, not of 'God.' but of Yahweh—Israel's God. What the Prophets did was to establish the conviction that Yahweh was the one true God, to Whom all the world belonged and to Whom all men were destined at last to give allegiance. They established this conviction in the teeth of prejudice. They found no evidence for it in nature. History and politics appeared to contradict it. No gradual development of the moral sense aided them, for the morality which they preached was what the people acknowledged; they only added to the old standard that men must act up to it because Yahweh was jealous for morality, not for ritual.

The Prophets did at last establish their conviction simply because they had themselves been so unmistakeably convinced. What was the source of that assurance? With great skill Dr. Hamilton analyzes the prophetic mind, and after a remarkable discussion of Isaiah's call, concludes that 'if this is not personal intercourse with God, then such intercourse is not to be found anywhere; and either it is an impossibility, or else man has never been permitted to enjoy it.' One or two other sentences may be quoted to illustrate Dr. Hamilton's view of this intercourse, for that view is all-important to his argument.

' It is a mistake to think that the mono-Yahwists were all men of more powerful intellect and greater reasoning ability than any of their contemporaries, and to contrast their mental life with that of the false prophets as though the one, guided by a deep insight and a strong intellect, were a scene of peace and prolonged thought, while the other, subject to no control but that of feeling, was a place of storm and confusion. The facts do not support this view. There is scarcely a page of their written prophecies which does not witness to the gales of passionate feeling which swept through the souls of the mono-Yahwists. Stormy indeed must have been the mental life of the so-called false prophets if it was more tempestuous than this.' 'Each prophet appears before us as a new beginning, as one who has realized for himself, in a way he can never forget, the truth of the principles he enunciates.' 'What causes Isaiah's apprehension is the very vividness of his consciousness, the nakedness with which he sees his soul contrasted against another Personality. If death is sometimes apprehended because consciousness is felt to be dying out, in this case death is apprehended because consciousness is passing the bounds of life in the opposite direction. It is becoming so acute and so intense, the sense of strain and inability to cope with the situation is so severe, that the prophet feels that soul and body are on the point of being torn asunder.' 'Just as Isaiah had experienced Yahweh's infinite power in his inner soul, and therefore knew it to be universal and irresistible, so also he had experienced Yahweh's holiness and knew it to be the very essence of His Being.'

Thus far Dr. Hamilton has examined the records with an impartial eye. He has described the general habit of thought in Israel and in the world, and has discovered a conviction in the Prophets, and in them alone, which can only be explained as their belief that they had indeed enjoyed fearful communion with the God of their fathers, and had learned from His own soul-penetrating word the secret of His character and sovereignty. At this point he makes the venture of faith; assumes that they were not deluded, but that God does indeed reveal Himself; and so proceeds to trace the consequences of this revelation.

In their own times the Prophets were thwarted, but after the Exile their faith became Israel's faith. Dr. Hamilton calls it 'mono-Yahwism.' By this he means that God is still their own God Yahweh, but the nation believes Yahweh to be the one and only God under Whose righteous sovereignty the world must be gathered. This excludes the position, whatever measure of truth may be in it, 'that there is a spiritual fellowship of all those who seek God, which is independent of all outward conditions, and exists in truth and reality in spite of all visible and apparent separations.' It implies 'the appointment of a divinely authorized system of outward forms to which all alike

should submit, and which all alike should choose,' a system which 'provides an opportunity for the creation of that higher spiritual fellowship which is based on moral choice.'

Here the link is indicated which connects volume I (Israel) with volume II. (The Church). For 'Christianity is simply the religion of the Jews reorganized by Jesus the Messiah. . . . The basis of salvation was shifted from the Law to the Death of the Messiah.' Hence the Law fell into insignificance and 'the old Jewish exclusiveness was broken down, not between the Jewish and other religions, but between Jew and Gentile in respect of the opportunity of enjoying the privileges of the national religion of the Jews.' Thus the Messianic hope of Judaism was fulfilled. The national religion became universal. But it became universal as a kingdom might by opening its door to receive other people into its visible, organized unity. As examination of the Old Testament shews this to have been the principle of Judaism, so historical inquiry into the growth of the Christian Church, with its one Eucharist and its appointed ministry, shews it to be still the principle there. But we are not at present to deal with the second volume. Enough here to say that it is a further proof and elaboration of the argument which is thus summed up in volume I:

'Our conclusion must be that it was God's will to consecrate the outward organized aspect of religion as well as the inward and individual aspect; and that He vouchsafed the true knowledge of Himself to the Jews in order that their national system of religion might become the matrix of a divinely authorized organization in which men of every race and position should unite before Him to accomplish His will.'

Let us return to volume I, and briefly put in order the thoughts which the study of so remarkable a book has roused. First, it is one of the most powerful arguments that has ever been marshalled in proof of a special revelation to Israel. And in the main this argument takes the form of a very penetrating analysis of the spirit of prophecy. But, secondly, certain misgivings arise when we lay the book down and meditate upon its masterful doctrine. Has not Israel been too much in the well-lit foreground? Might not the proportion of things alter if Plato were examined as sympathetically as the Prophets? Was the triumph of the true faith so exclusively due to the Prophets? Was post-Exilic Judaism so thoroughly and visibly organized round the Law; are there not other tendencies, in the Wisdom books for instance, which make for the recognition

of a less organic unity in the faith? Is it safe to infer from the intensity of the Prophets' communion with God, that their communion was different in kind from all other religious experiences? Might not the naïve unspeculative conception of Yahweh, which was their national inheritance, be a natural explanation of the form which their conviction took; and if 'natural' explanations be once admitted, is it not difficult to uphold special or unique revelations?

Such misgivings occur, but a second reading of the book goes far to allay them. They have been foreseen by Dr. Hamilton. He has met them with honesty as well as skill, and, what is more convincing, they seem to lose their importance when his ruling idea reasserts its force. But, lastly, what is that ruling idea? If we interpret the whole treatise by the second volume the answer will be: that God has provided for the development of true religion in the unity of a visible organization. If however we attend to the former volume from which the whole argument takes its rise, this will appear rather as a corollary than the main idea. The main idea is that the abiding spirit of true religion is Semitic, and that this spirit is intuitional rather than logical, an inspiration rather than an education, an impulse rather than a development. Not the Jewish Church, but the miracle of prophecy from which it sprang, is the height of Dr. Hamilton's great argument. And that argument, that idea, is just what all minds have been full of lately. He says that 'the tendency of the present day is to minimize' our Lord's 'connexion with the Jewish religion.' That was indeed the tendency which Disraeli so sincerely opposed half a century ago, and the worn-out prejudice is still strong, even among scholars, in Germany. But in England it is all the other way. Schweitzer has roused attention. Even those who like him least recognize the Galilean setting of the Synoptic Gospels. The Jewish element in St. Paul is coming more to the front, the Greek receding. Already a like reaction begins to be expected with respect to St. John's Gospel. And this Jewish influence is not merely recognized, it is welcomed: for it makes in the same direction as the fashionable philosophy. It has to do with intuition more than intellect; it touches life directly. Religion turns out after all to be something different from reason. Once again Pectus facit theologum.

^{&#}x27;Modern philosophy, with its superficial discoveries, has infused into the breast of man a spirit of scepticism; but I think that ere long science will again become imaginative, and that as we become more profound, we may become also more credulous.'

So wrote Disraeli in *Contarini Fleming* more than half a century ago. The vaticination might be applied especially to Dr. Hamilton's book, in which old faith is renewed by means of modern criticism. A new idea has in fact arisen upon the world to renew it. Dr. Hamilton has in his own independent manner expressed that idea. This does not bring suspicion upon the value of his words; it rather enhances them. But perhaps it should remind his readers that he is probably emphasizing one side of a many-sided truth.

A. NAIRNE.

THEOLOGICAL ESSAYS.

- I. London Theological Studies. By Members of the Faculty OF Theology in the University of London. (University of London Press: Published for the University of London Press, Ltd., by Hodder and Stoughton. 1911.) 10s. 6d. net.
- 2. The Parting of the Roads. Studies in the Development of Judaism and Early Christianity. By Members of Jesus College, Cambridge. With an Introduction by W. R. Inge, D.D., late Professorial Fellow, now Honorary Fellow of the College and Dean of St. Paul's. Edited by F. J. Foakes Jackson, D.D., Fellow and Dean of the College. (Edward Arnold. 1912.) 10s. 6d. net.
- 3. Biblical and Theological Studies. By the Members of the Faculty of Princeton Theological Seminary. Published in Commemoration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Founding of the Seminary. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1912.) \$3.00 net.

These three composite books have the same general character, that each of them is a collection of essays by different writers on widely different subjects, and in the case of the first two from divergent points of view. If they are compared with somewhat similar volumes, they have more in common with the Inaugural Lectures delivered by Members of the Faculty of Theology at the University of Manchester (1905), or the Cambridge Essays on Some Theological Questions of the Day (1905) and Essays on Some Biblical Questions of the Day (1909), than with Lux Mundi (1889), or even with Essays and Reviews (1860), Contentio Veritatis (1902), and Foundations (1912).

The writers in the volume entitled London Theological Studies are all teachers in one or other of the six colleges which make up the Theological Schools of the University of London, and in addition to so teaching they have, as is said in the Preface, 'for some years worked together in the Faculty of Theology and on the Board of Theological Studies in the University.' They have thought 'the completion of ten years of this association in work' a favourable opportunity for combining in the publication of some of their own studies.' The volume is of great interest not only because of the importance of the essays themselves, but also as an indication of the kinds of teaching which may be found in a University where the conditions of theological study are such as in the University of London. An 'Introductory Note' by Mr. S. W. Green, the Professor of New Testament Exegesis in Regent's Park College, is prefixed to the essays. It sketches the history of the London Theological Faculty. Two matters of interest in it are that the religious bodies represented in the Faculty are the Church of England (King's College and St. John's Hall), Congregationalists (Hackney and New Colleges), Wesleyans (Richmond College), and Baptists (Regent's Park College); and that between 1903 and 1910 fiftysix internal students and 144 external students (of whom four were women) passed the final examination for the degree of B.D., and 'the degree of D.D., the qualification for which is by thesis, with some relevant examination, was conferred on one internal student and on four external.'

The first essay is on 'The Historical Value of the Old Testament 'by Dr. W. H. Bennett, Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis in Hackney and New Colleges. Assuming much work done by the lower and the higher criticism, Dr. Bennett examines in the light of it some representative parts of the Old Testament, and formulates the conclusion that while many details may be incorrect or uncertain and some narratives unhistorical, 'there is the kind and degree of historical certainty which we need for purposes of edification,' and that we possess 'an adequate framework of historical facts' and 'a sufficiently full and clear background of external circumstances.' In the second essay Dr. A. W. Greenup, the Principal of St. John's Hall, Highbury, who has previously edited parts of the work, gives a brief account of the Yalkut ha-Makiri and a translation of the portion of it on the Book of Jonah. The third essay is by Mr. H. T. Andrews, Professor of New Testament Exegesis in Hackney and New

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Colleges, on 'The Significance of the Eschatological Utterances of Iesus.' Mr. Andrews discusses and rejects the theories that the eschatological elements are a later addition to the teaching of our Lord, that they are merely a Judaistic survival in His thought, and that they are only an allegorical form of expressing the resurrection, or the outpouring of the Holy Ghost on the Day of Pentecost, or the continuous presence of Christ with His Church. He himself is of opinion that our Lord, being 'limited by His Jewish outlook and the current categories of the day,' and speaking 'out of the depths of the humanity which He had assumed,' was mistaken in regard to 'the character of the Parousia'; but that the eschatological utterances have permanent value when they are translated into terms of current thought, and so translated express a message of hope which is guaranteed by the Cross, and includes the conceptions of our Lord as ruling in heaven and of the Kingdom of God as coming from God, not evolved by man. The fourth essay, on 'Prolegomena to the Study of Theology ' by Dr. A. C. Headlam, Principal of King's College when the book was published, is in some respects the most important of all. It includes definitions of theology in general, of historical and dogmatic theology, and of the relation between theology and religion; and contains discussions on the sources of theology and on the psychology of religion. The treatment is from the point of view in which religion is regarded as a natural development of the mind, the idea of revelation being as far as possible set aside, and it being left for another occasion to estimate the sources of revealed religion and the relation of the two sources of religious knowledge to each other. In the fifth essay Dr. P. T. Forsyth, Principal of Hackney College, discusses 'Christ and the Christian Principle'; he uses language in regard to our Lord which will not be accepted by believers in the traditional Christology of the Church, but emphasizes 'the personal unity in an equal Godhead of Son and Father,' and maintains that 'the real issue of the present time' 'concerns the finality of the revelation in Jesus Christ.' The sixth essay is by Dr. J. P. Whitney, Professor of Ecclesiastical History at King's College, on 'Continuity throughout the Reformation': the most characteristic feature in it is the view of the Reformation as 'a process,' 'not a crisis,' 'a stage in the gradual growth of man, neither an interruption as some would have it nor a new creation as others would call it,' 'the outcome of the Middle Ages,' 'the beginning of systems under which we live,' the real significance of which is not lost by allowing that

'there are signs that mediaeval views of life, formerly shut out too hastily, have a charm for us to-day, and may have a real power for the men of to-morrow.' The seventh essay, 'The Authority of Jesus Christ in Early Christian Literature,' by Dr. H. H. Scullard, Professor of Church History and Christian Ethics in Hackney and New Colleges, is a careful, though not always satisfying, study of the evidence contained in the Didache, the Odes of Solomon, the Clementine Recognitions; in the writings of St. Ignatius, Theophilus of Antioch, Quadratus, Aristides, Athenagoras, Dionysius of Corinth, Papias, St. Polycarp, Melito, St. Justin Martyr, Tatian, Clement of Alexandria; and in the Epistle to Diognetus, the Second Epistle of Clement of Rome, the Epistle of Barnabas. The omission of Western writers is not due to an opinion that they are unimportant, but simply to the impossibility of doing justice to both Eastern and Western authors within the limits allowed to the writer. In the eighth essay Dr. W. T. Davison, Principal of Richmond College, treating the subject of 'The Holy Spirit and Divine Immanence,' reaches the conclusion that 'The idea' of divine immanence' 'needs to be more closely defined, and a prevailing tendency to exaggerate its significance and to underestimate the meaning of transcendence needs to be modified and restrained,' but that 'the effect of a thorough assimilation of 'this idea 'upon all departments of theology must be wholesome and inspiring, and may amount to a complete rejuvenation of its energies.' The ninth essay is by Dr. A. E. Garvie, Principal of New College, on the 'Study of Religion.' In the course of it Dr. Garvie distinguishes and discusses the different methods of studying religion, and the elements of which it is composed. The tenth and last essay, entitled 'The Emotional Element in Religion: a Vindication,' is by Dr. Caldecott, Professor of Moral Philosophy and now Dean of King's College, and, as the title implies, is an attempt to claim a due place for the influence of feeling and love side by side with the intellect.

The writers in *The Parting of the Roads* are both more and less limited than those in *London Theological Studies*. They are more limited because all are members of Jesus College, Cambridge, all but three took their degrees in the Twentieth century, and all except Dr. Inge and Dr. Foakes Jackson himself have been pupils of Dr. Foakes Jackson. In their range of thought and belief they are less limited, since a Jew, Mr. Ephraim Levine, is associated with eight members of the Church of England and

one Nonconformist. The subjects of the essays cover much ground. The Dean of St. Paul's contributes an introduction which, if not always kindly in its criticisms on 'Catholicism' and somewhat fantastic in its anticipation of 'the Teutonic Catholic Church 'as 'an ideal of the distant future,' contains a noble passage about our Lord as 'above the antithesis' of the 'two racial types' in 'Zion' and 'Greece.' Dr. Foakes Jackson, in describing 'How the Old Testament came into Being, suggests that the Pentateuch as well as the other parts of the Old Testament which he ascribes to the exilic period is largely polemic against Babylonian polytheism and idolatry. The point of Mr. R. T. Howard's essay is that 'The Devotional Value of the Old Testament' remains and is enhanced if the critical views now held by many are accepted; it contains much that is valuable, but also some passages which strongly suggest that the writer's knowledge of the Middle Ages is lacking in accuracy and is not first-hand. Dr. Oesterley discusses ' Judaism in the Days of the Christ' with much learning and skill; and, though not quite happy in all his phraseology about faith and reason, supplies an admirable answer to conclusions which Fr. Tyrrell connected with his treatment of eschatological elements in the Gospels. Mr. H. G. Wood distinguishes 'Some Characteristics of the Synoptic Writers,' and ends a valuable discussion by observing that the 'very prepossessions or tendencies of the evangelists are in the nature of equipment for their task,' since 'some aspects of the work of Jesus would never have been adequately represented if the evangelists had not been men of varying outlook,' and 'the passing of the tradition through minds of differing but definite colour, while it raises some difficult problems, is on the whole a source of strength rather than of weakness.' Mr. W. K. Lowther Clarke contributes a very interesting essay on 'St. Peter and the Twelve,' in which it is his object

^{&#}x27;to trace the development of St. Peter, and, in a lesser degree, of the rest of the twelve, to estimate their position as leaders and rulers of the Church, and to show, if possible, that the world-Church of the second century was, as a historical fact, founded on St. Peter.'

Mr. G. B. Redman and Mr. B. T. D. Smith have written careful essays on 'The Theology of St. Paul' and 'The Johannine Theology,' in which perhaps the most notable points are Mr. Redman's contention that

'the theory of a gradual development of St. Paul's thought, involving the abandonment of the old idea of the coming of the Lord to inaugurate a new order of things, in favour of a conception of the gradual improvement of earthly conditions by the work of the Spirit, seems insufficiently supported by the evidence,'

and Mr. Smith's conviction that 'Pauline Christianity alone could not hope to win the Graeco-Roman world to Christ,' and that therefore 'the period' of the Johannine writings was a critical one in the history of Christianity.' The one Jewish contributor, Mr. Ephraim Levine, discusses 'The Breach between Judaism and Christianity,' and gives a very clear and useful account of salient points in Jewish thought and history during the First and Second centuries. He makes some interesting remarks, in connexion with the Pharisees, on the need of 'ceremonial' if a religion is to promote 'constant intercourse with God,' and on the danger lest 'ceremonial' should 'beget formalism and develop into routine.' The last essay is by Mr. P. Gardner-Smith on 'Revelation.' Mr. Gardner-Smith at the close of his essay rejects such views about inspiration as have been advocated by, for instance, Dr. Sanday and Dr. Kirkpatrick, as well as the older and more rigid opinions, and, while he allows that 'the writings of the New Testament must always retain an unique place in the esteem of the Christian Church,' wishes to extend widely the ideas both of revelation and of inspiration, since 'the revelation without is but a means to the revelation within, and when once that fact is grasped it follows that inspiration is regarded, not as an abnormal affection in the past, but as a necessary state in the present.'

Since the writers of Biblical and Theological Studies are members of the Faculty of Princeton Theological Seminary it may be presumed that they are all Presbyterians or Congregationalists. The subjects with which they have dealt in the fifteen essays which occupy the 634 pages of their book are of the most varied character. In writing on 'Theological Encyclopaedia' Dr. F. L. Patton makes an impressive plea for the dogmatic and systematic theology which may be based on the Incarnation and Resurrection of Christ, and includes the doctrines of Sin, Atonement, and Justification. He declares that 'in the defence of supernatural Christianity everything is at stake,' and that 'in the crisis of to-day we are witnessing the greatest war of intellect that has ever been waged since the birthday of the Nazarene.' Dr. B. B. Warfield contributes a very careful study of the New Testament evidence 'On the Emotional Life

of our Lord.' Dr. J. D. Davis, writing on 'The Child Whose Name is Wonderful,' defends his opinion concerning the Messiah that 'in the days of the prophets the conception of identity with, yet distinguishableness from, Jehovah was present in Hebrew thought, and was consistent with the pure monotheism which was taught in Israel.' Dr. J. DeWitt's contribution is 'Jonathan Edwards: a Study'; an interesting part of it is the comparison between Edwards' doctrine of hell and the ideas contained in Dante's Inferno. The essay on 'The Supernatural,' by Professor W. B. Greene, Junior, is an elaborate defence of such a doctrine of Theism as makes miracles probable. Dr. Geerhardus Vos writes on 'The Eschatological Aspect of the Pauline Conception of the Spirit.' In 'The Aramaic of Daniel.' Dr. R. D. Wilson takes as a starting-point the statement of Dr. Driver in his Literature of the Old Testament that the language used in the Book of Daniel indicates a writer in or near Palestine, and a date later than the conquest of Palestine by Alexander the Great, and traverses it with great detail. The conclusion which he deduces from a very elaborate examination of Aramaic forms is that the book was written at or near Babylon not long after the founding of the Persian Empire. Professor W. P. Armstrong discusses 'The Place of the Resurrection Appearances of Jesus': he examines 'the Galilaean theory,' 'the Jerusalem theory,' and 'the double tradition'; and decides in favour of 'the double tradition.' The essay 'Modern Spiritual Movements' by Dr. C. R. Erdman, while not ignoring disquieting elements in the religious life of to-day, takes an optimistic view. In 'Homiletics as a Theological Discipline,' Dr. F. W. Loetscher discusses the principles and methods of instruction in preaching. Dr. J. O. Boyd contributes a very interesting essay on 'Sin and Grace in the Biblical Narratives rehearsed in the Koran.' One of the more important essays is by Professor C. W. Hodge, Junior, on 'The Finality of the Christian Religion,' which he maintains inevitably follows when it is allowed that 'the Christ of the New Testament is a reality.' Dr. K. D. Macmillan, writing on 'The Interpretation of the Shepherd of Hermas,' discusses the questions suggested by the external evidence about and the contents of the Shepherd: his opinion is that it was written by Hermas, brother of Pius, Bishop of Rome, who was therefore presumably close to the leaders of the Church, that it represents the official teaching of the Church of Rome, and that it was given its particular form to enable it to compete with popular apocalyptic and cryptic writings, teaching in

which it was intended to oppose. In 'Jesus and Paul,' Mr. J. G. Machen considers the relation of St. Paul to the life and teaching of our Lord: he holds that the devotion of St. Paul was directed wholly to the risen Lord, and that this devotion could not be defended if Christ was merely human. 'The Transcendence of Jehovah God of Israel,' by Mr. O. T. Allis, is an examination of the Hebrew wording and the structure of Isaiah xliv. 24–28, and the bearing of the results obtained on the whole passage xliv. 24–xlv. 7, which is assigned to Isaiah. This essay is one of the many indications of the conservative opinions in regard to matters of criticism held by the writers who have combined to produce Biblical and Theological Studies. In this respect and in a greater degree of homogeneity the volume may be contrasted with London Theological Studies and The Parting of the Roads.

In noticing books which cover so wide a field and contain opinions so diverse as these three, it is difficult for a reviewer to do more than call attention to the deep interest in and careful study of theological questions which they concur to shew.

DARWELL STONE.

SHORT NOTICES.

I.—BIBLICAL AND KINDRED STUDIES.

Jesus the Christ. Historical or Mythical. By T. J. THORBURN, D.D., LL.D. (T. and T. Clark. 1912.) 6s. net.

John Baptist and his Relation to Jesus. By A. Blakiston, M.A. (J. and J. Bennett. 1912.) 6s. net.

Mélanges d'Histoire du Christianisme. III. Jésus à Jérusalem. Par A. Goethals. (Bruxelles: H. Lamertin. 1912.) 3 fr.

WE may for convenience group together these volumes of New Testament studies. Dr. Thorburn's volume is written in reply to the writings of Professor Drews and Mr. Robertson, modern exponents of the mythical interpretation of the Gospel story. We imagine few of our readers have much sympathy with such efforts, and Dr. Thorburn has little difficulty in making it clear how completely they override evidence, and on what very

speculative and imaginative lines much of their work proceeds. The book is easy to read, and by following up details Dr. Thorburn builds up a proof of the weakness of the attack on the historical person of Jesus. In presenting the case for the Jesus of the primitive Gospel Professor Petrie's Growth of the Gospels is relied upon. Many would have made a different choice. In the chapter on the Pauline evidence Dr. Knowling's important contribution is not referred to; but details of this kind are of

minor importance.

Mr. Blakiston's attempt to write an account of the Baptist's life and ministry is largely conjectural. Starting from the stand-point that in the Gospels St. John is simply a background figure to our Lord, he tends to give undue importance to the evidence of Josephus and to read into it more than is warranted. He also makes use of Dr. Schechter's newly edited fragments of a Zadokite work, accepting the argument of Mr. Margoliouth for its containing references to our Lord and St. John, and so affording proof that the Baptist's ministry had begun twenty years before our Lord's. Dr. Barnes regards this work as of Maccabean date, and we note that Dr. Charles assigns it to the First century B.C.,

and if so the argument disappears.

Professor Goethals, like Mr. Blakiston, prefers the evidence of other documents to the Gospel story. Regarding St. Mark's version of our Lord's trial as largely hagiographical, 'worked over at Rome after 64, and aiming to shew our Lord as the prototype of confessors and martyrs,' he finds a truer account in the 'Additamenta.' This speaks of an attempted plot by 150 of our Lord's servants to massacre the Romans and make Him king. This was known to the Sanhedrin and reported, so that arrest and trial by Pilate followed. This trial ended in discharge. The arrest by the Jews came subsequently, and in the second trial Jesus was condemned as a false prophet. Professor Goethals has little doubt that the word here used of our Lord's servants was 'douloi,' and he notes the use of this word for disciples in several books of the New Testament, but we wonder that this should commend the historical character of the narrative. But it is typical of many points in which we might question Professor Goethals' judgement. Few scholars would say that the title Son of Man is not derived from Daniel, or regard St. Luke's Gospel as drawing material from the Book of Revelation. the study of the Last Supper the language about the new covenant is accepted, also that the rite meant participation in it.

Jesus. By G. H. GILBERT, D.D. (The Macmillan Company. 1912.) 6s. 6d. net.

DR. GILBERT tells us in his preface that having changed his views of the independence of the four Gospels, he has found it easier to rewrite than to revise his Student's Life of Jesus, published fifteen years ago. The present volume is divided into three parts, dealing with (I) the sources, (2) the historical Jesus, (3) the legendary Jesus. The work is done reverently and carefully, and attempts to depict the life and teaching of Jesus as it presents itself to those who, relying on the oldest material in the Gospels, sift even this to remove any hints of later date. In addition there is only a limited acceptance of miracles, those that have affinity with faith healing: others are excluded, it is believed, by the record of the Temptation. The third section covers the narratives of the birth, infancy, and boyhood, certain incidents of the ministry such as the Transfiguration, and the legend of a material Resurrection.

At times we cannot help feeling that Dr. Gilbert argues too much from silences on various points; for instance, he bases an argument against the narrative of the Virgin Birth on our Lord's silence on this point: a fact to which he thinks we ought to ascribe supreme significance. Similarly, remembering St. Peter's connexion with St. Mark, the conclusion is drawn that St. Peter knew nothing of the private life of Jesus. We believe that critical methods are valuable, especially when constructive, but they are apt to lead to barren results when absence of evidence is regarded as negative evidence; then when once conclusions are formed, there is nothing easier than to find evidence in support of them.

II.—PASTORALIA.

The Word and the World: Pastoral Studies for the Modern Preacher. By the Rev. John Wakeford, B.D., Canon and Precentor of Lincoln. (Longmans. 1913.) 3s. 6d. net.

THAT these lectures to men preparing to preach are by one who is himself a preacher is written on them plainly. In the exposition of New Testament teaching on the preaching and receiving of the Word he is on well-known ground. In a way this does not make for lucidity. Without the tones and gestures that interpreted the discourses, the sequence of thought is not so clear. Again, in other chapters the preacher is displayed by statements which compel attention by their force, but would

need some qualification in a drier light. There are very few pages from which we could not draw some sentence that gives in brief compass the experience of the teacher, the priest, the parish worker closely in touch with the circumstances of to-day. Canon Wakeford is never dull. Perhaps the most notable chapters are the last five-Social and Personal Conditions, the Life of Conversion, Religious Knowledge, and Christian Duty. The titles convey little idea of the variety of the topics they embrace. Under Social Conditions affecting the preaching and hearing of the Word we have a discerning treatment of 'the four classes of employment' as developing personal character; and 'the assumption that parents are to be approached and attracted to religion through their children' is noted as fraught with disastrous results. Under Personal Conditions is found the fact, by no means fully grasped, that the most precious right possessed by the managers of Church schools is that of nominating the teachers: 'if these are chosen with great care and so treated as to help them to realize their ministry, the syllabus and time-table are comparatively unimportant. Words on 'the unwisdom of proposals to lower the age at which Confirmation is generally given' may cause some to ponder. In the Life of Conversion there is wise teaching on exposition of the Scriptures. 'It is by exposition that we may recover the interest and attachment of the people to revealed truth'; it will attract thinking people, nourish spiritual life, and keep the preacher always a student. A needful warning is given concerning the neutralizing of the work of the ministry in teaching 'by the odious bearing of small groups of nominal disciples, young people of meagre mental equipment. The preacher who allows himself to be mobbed by four or five of such persons may reckon his public ministry an accomplished failure.' Perhaps this is sufficient to suggest the varied and practical interest of the lectures. And if we do not accept the pronouncements that 'any person whose public religious exercise is limited to Sunday evening is virtually lost to the Church'; or that 'to profess oneself a member of any particular body on the ground that one's parents were in that body is to set oneself down as an ancestor worshipper'; or that 'resolutions made on a sick bed are never kept'; or that 'the provision of mission rooms and services on Sunday evenings are an open profession of the needlessness of the Sacraments'; yet there is a core of fact in them, and it is the preacher's way so to arouse us to think.

The Reading of Divine Service in the Church. By the Rev. ROBERT JAMBLIN, M.A. (Skeffington and Son. 1912.) 1s. 6d. net.

THIS book contains two short essays on 'Articulation and Phrasing ' and ' Voice Production,' but two-thirds of its eightyseven pages are devoted to the 'Church Services Annotated.' The hints on producing the voice are sensible, especially the suggestion that 'a course of singing lessons under a first-class teacher is one of the best means of attaining a proper method of delivery.' Personal experience would have led us to think that the most important defect in the reading in church is that only a portion of the congregation can hear it without strain. But the writer, who has detected twenty-one errors in the reading of one of the opening Sentences—' When the wicked man '-alone, finds much else to desire. He takes Morning and Evening Prayer, the Litany, and Holy Communion, and line by line gives its correct pronunciation and emphasis. We are at one with him in condemnation of the recent affectations—' cartholic' (formerly heard only among the poorer Irish population of our towns), and of 'hold the faith.' But on the other hand 'créatures,' 'Christians,' and 'righteousness,' as we gather Mr. Jamblin desires to hear them, might be to some of us rather irritating. After all, nothing but oral instruction is really effective here. A pains-taking following of these elaborate directions might make such wild work as would the organist who followed with blind conscientiousness the ϕ . and f. and ff. marked in some of the editions of Hymns Ancient and Modern. The Bishop of Chichester, however, is confident that the book 'will be of great service to many of the clergy and to all ordinands.'

The Visitation of the Sick. By the Rev. Theodore Johnson. (George Allen and Co. 1912.) 1s. 6d. net.

In a preface to this little book the Bishop of Chichester expresses his belief that 'one reason of the decrease of house-to-house visiting which is an alarming characteristic of the clerical life of to-day is a sense of unfitness for such work—above all when brought into contact with the sick and dying.' It is this disabling sense of unfitness in the junior clergy that Mr. Johnson desires to remove. Many a parish priest can look back and see how little, if any, assistance he received in this difficult ministry; perhaps some 'parochialia' lecture on the subject at his Theological College, or the chance reading of a book of addresses on Pastoral Work, and nothing more. This manual, with its homely advice

in chapters on Difficulties, Preparation, the Service in the Sick Room, the Prayer Book Office, etc., would have been a useful gift at that time. Its insistence on the point that trouble must be taken to read and to prepare for visitation of the sick is most sound; also the comments on the need of brevity, on extemporary prayer, and on the use of hymns. Two useful lists of books are given—one of Manuals on Sick Visitation; the other in a short chapter on the 'Importance of Mind and Will as Factors in Healing.'

The Ministry of Absolution; An Appeal for its More General Use with Due Regard to the Liberty of the Individual. By Cyrll Bickersteth, M.A., of the Community of the Resurrection. (Longmans. 1912.) 3s. 6d. net.

MR. BICKERSTETH describes his book as being 'primarily intended for the clergy,' though he hopes that 'there is nothing in it to offend the conscience of lay readers.' To those whether clergy or laity who wish to have a general idea of what is meant and intended by those who make and hear Confessions the book will be useful; and it contains much sound advice on many matters which those who hear Confessions will do well to heed. Candidates for Holy Orders, deacons, and newly ordained priests may learn from it as to the spirit in which this ministry ought to be approached, and in regard to some details. The author says that it is not 'a formal treatise,' and that what he has done is to 'offer to the younger clergy some counsels.' This statement of his purpose must be borne in mind in estimating the book; but it is nevertheless somewhat disappointing that Mr. Bickersteth has not supplied one of the great needs of the English Church, a really adequate treatment of the subject which priests can use. It is not well that after all the time which has elapsed since Confessions have been heard in large numbers in the English Church it is still necessary to refer those who need practically useful books to the Roman Catholic treatises, which have, as Mr. Bickersteth mentions, their obvious disadvantages.

Though there are details in the book on which some priests of experience will differ from Mr. Bickersteth, it is appropriate to his position as a priest of the English Church that he has written definitely and clearly from the point of view expressed in the Book of Common Prayer, that Confession is to be offered

plainly and openly to all, but enforced on none.

III. THE EASTERN CHURCH.

The Patriarchs of Constantinople. By C. D. COBHAM, C.M.G. (Cambridge University Press. 1911.) 2s. 6d.

This is a little book of somewhat unusual plan, in that no fewer than 86 of its 104 pages are occupied by 'Introductions' written by contributors other than the one whose name appears on the cover as author. Mr. Cobham in fact contributes nothing but a list of the Patriarchs of Constantinople, in English and Greek, drawn from a work of Manuel Gedeon published at Constantinople about 1885. Dr. Fortescue and Canon Duckworth, who write the introductions that form the bulk of the book, give in handy and readable form a good deal of information concerning the 'Oecumenical Patriarchate.'

Both lay special stress on the practical uncertainty of tenure of a post nominally held for life, and on the strange fluctuations of its jurisdiction. They describe the forms of election to the office, which, as a matter of fact, has always been filled by nomination by the Emperor or Sultan of the day, and shew how damaging a thing to spiritual life in the Church has been the habit of allowing ecclesiastical jurisdiction to rest on the support of the secular power; naturally, however, as Dr. Fortescue remarks, such a mistake is exceptionally easy for a See whose main claim to its rank is its long association with the seat of Empire.

Dr. Fortescue points out that the recognition of the independence of the sister Churches which make up, with Constantinople, the 'Orthodox communion,' has always been grudgingly granted, though in many cases it has been impossible to refuse it. As the relations of the Bulgarian Church to the Oecumenical Patriarch may soon become important once more, it is worth noting that the Church in question had actually a Patriarch of its own from 923 to 972, and after the latter date was 'autocephalous' under its own archbishop till 1766. It was therefore after less than one century's interval that the claim to autonomy under its own 'Exarch' was revived.

Copts and Moslems under British Control. By Kyriakos Mikhail. (Smith, Elder & Co. 1911.) 5s.

This book is a statement of the grievances felt by the Copts against the policy of the British controllers of Egypt; the author, while admitting that his nation, in common with all Egyptians, has profited much by the reforms of the last thirty

years, yet complains bitterly of certain matters, viz. (1) the observance of Friday, and not of Sunday, as the day of rest in Government offices; (2) the religious instruction given in the 'Kuttabs,' or primary schools; (3) the exclusion (for the most part) of Copts from the higher administrative posts.

The writer certainly seems to establish his point that the Copts have certain specific things to complain of in regard to the first two points—grievances which might be remedied, and probably are in course of removal under Lord Kitchener; incidentally he makes abundantly clear the admitted fact that both Copts and other classes in Egypt have not been handled

judiciously of late years.

It is doubtful, however, whether any administrative reforms can remove the sense of injury which the Copts feel on seeing themselves (undeniably the cleverer of the two races) still ruled largely by Mussalmans, when all religions are nominally equal. Every head-master knows the problem of the clever boy who cannot be kept out of the Sixth form, but yet cannot be made a prefect because he cannot keep the Fifth form in order. M. Mikhail has no doubt that the Copts could undertake the highest administrative posts if properly supported by the English. But the head-master does not want prefects who require his constant support. It is an old problem in the Nearer East, and one that will become acute everywhere in the Turkish Empire. Whatever may be said of Egypt, elsewhere in the Ottoman dominions the case is put, 'Reform in Turkey? When you can get a Mussalman to obey a rayat you may talk of reform: and then no reform will be needed.'

The Church of Armenia. By Malachia Ormanian, sometime Patriarch in Constantinople. (Mowbrays. 1912.) 5s.

This book is a convenient and useful handbook to the Armenian Church written by a former holder of one of the highest offices in that communion, the Patriarchate of Constantinople. It may perhaps be worth mentioning that with the Armenians 'Patriarch' is the second grade of the hierarchy, and that 'Catholicos' ranks above it.

The first portion of the volume consists of a somewhat hurried survey of the history of the Church and nation, and this is rather thin in character. It would seem that the writer, while thoroughly *au fait* with the history of his Church, has

not had access to the documents which would give him that grasp of the development of the surrounding nations which is needful if we are to understand their dealings with the Armenians.

With that race, the story of the Church is the history of the nation, and as buffer State, tributary principality and subject nation it has now been tossed and buffeted for sixteen centuries between Rome and Persia, Byzantine Emperor and Saracen Khalif, Turk and Crusader, Ottoman, Seljuk, Persian and Egyptian Sultans, and finally Roman Pope, American missionary and Russian Czar, with a prospect of further storms in the future. A book that will give a really intelligible account of these fifteen hundred years of martyrdom needs to be written with a thorough understanding of the history of all the various empires in whose games this nation has been a pawn, and such a 'history of Asia Minor since the days of Constantine,' though well worth the writing, has yet to be written.

Notwithstanding, Bishop Ormanian and his translator have given English readers a valuable account (and the only one written with really first-hand knowledge) of the institutions and customs of a Church which in its teaching and status approaches very near to our own; with this they have given a picture of a nation which, in spite of some uncongenial traits, is admitted on all hands to be the cleverest, ablest, and toughest of the subject races of the Ottoman Empire.

There is a slip or two to be found in the work. The Chaldaeans are most certainly not a Monophysite, but, if anything, a Nestorian Church (pp. 77, 212), and it was not the Council of Nicaea, but the detested gathering of Chalcedon, that made Jerusalem a Patriarchal throne (p. 120). It is interesting to find Bishop Ormanian (himself a celibate) advocating a return to the primitive custom of married bishops as a cure for some of the most conspicuous evils in the Armenian Church of to-day. We have one other criticism to make. Seeing what the term 'Monophysite' suggests to English readers, it would have been better if Bishop Ormanian had made more clear the undoubted fact that the Armenian Church not only condemns Eutyches but also teaches definitely that our Lord was and is to all eternity 'perfect God and perfect Man, of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting.' We wish the prevalent misconception, that this venerable Church is either Eutychian or Aphtharto-docetic, to be definitely removed from the minds of English Churchmen.

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Sketches of Georgian Church History. By ARCHDEACON DOWLING. (S.P.C.K. 1912.) 28. 6d.

ARCHDEACON DOWLING adds yet another to his numerous and useful handbooks of the Oriental Churches, though this is hardly on the same level as some of the others. It consists of sketches of the two martyr Queens of Georgia, Susanna and Ketevan, of Saint Nina, the slave-foundress, and of some miscellaneous information concerning the Georgian monasteries at Jerusalem (in which Dr. Dowling has a special interest) and at Mount Athos. It is somewhat strange, in a book dealing with this 'Iberian' Church, to find no reference to some of the most picturesque episodes of its history. Procopius does full justice to the heroism of the Iberians in the long wars between Justinian and Chosroes I of Persia, and the story of the siege of Petra is a thrilling one. Somewhat earlier, the tale of Nabarnugios, the prince of Iberia who was hostage, hermit and bishop, and who as 'Peter the Iberian' is one of the founders of the Monophysite communion, might surely have been worth recounting. Neither of these is referred to in this little book.

One regrets extremely that a national Church with so great a history should now have ceased to be, save as a province in the great Russian communion, which has annexed the whole. A most valuable monument of the past has thus been destroyed, a sacrifice to the 'lusty and baleful fetish of uniformity.'

Coptic Texts on Saint Theodore the General, St. Theodore the Eastern, Chamoul, and Justus. Edited and translated by E. O. WINSTEDT, late Senior Demy of Magdalen College, Oxford. (Published for the Text and Translation Society by Williams and Norgate.) I guinea net.

THE ancient lives and acts of the saints frequently lend but little to edification or knowledge, insomuch that one is sometimes tempted to wonder whether it is worth while to publish them. The present work, which deals chiefly with St. Theodore the General, is very full of the impossible. But there is always the chance of such works as these containing at least some germ of historical fact, and herein lies their only value. The document which Mr. Winstedt has published is an encomium on St. Theodore the General, but since it was delivered in a church dedicated to St. Theodore the Eastern, the latter saint has been worked into it. It may be said at once that neither the General nor the Eastern ever had any existence, but have been evolved from a third

St. Theodore the Tyro. The acts of Theodore the General exist in Armenian and Latin, and his martyrdom in Coptic, but all differ

in detail from the present encomium.

The story here given is as follows:—Theodore the General was the son of an Egyptian. His mother was a pagan, who desired to keep her son ignorant of his father and his father's Christian faith. Theodore, however, when he grew up became a Christian. Later he appears as a great soldier under Diocletian. The two Theodores henceforth have much the same story. In a war with the Persians both of them distinguished themselves by taking Nicomedes, the son of the Persian king, prisoner. The Persian king makes efforts to secure the release of his son by bribery, and after unsuccessfully approaching the two saints is more fortunate with the Archbishop of Antioch (in whose charge Nicomedes has been left), who sets him free secretly. Soon after another Persian campaign comes about; and both these Persian wars are historical. In battle, to the amazement of the Romans, Nicomedes appears in the Persian ranks, and is again taken prisoner. The Archbishop's treachery comes out, and Diocletian is so enraged that he renounces the Christian faith which he has hitherto professed and straightway becomes the Persecutor. Theodore the Eastern is immediately crucified. Theodore the General is appointed Governor of Euchaita where he slays a dragon, incenses the pagan priests, and is denounced as a Christian. He is brought before Diocletian, whom he upbraids, is condemned to death, and here the MS. fails, and we are deprived of the details of his martyrdom. The only point of interest in this legend is the story of the treachery of the Archbishop of Antioch, and that this is alleged as the cause of Diocletian's persecution. The immediate cause of Diocletian's edict is, in fact, somewhat shrouded in mystery, for we know that hitherto he had been if not friendly. at least not hostile to Christianity, and Lactantius tells us that his own wife and daughter were Christians and that there were many Christians in his court. There seems to have been something which made him doubt the loyalty of Christians. But the reason here given can hardly be seriously accepted, and the most probable explanation is that this libel was simply an indirect attack on the Chalcedonian churches. Mr. Winstedt also adds some fragments on the Theodores. The martyrdoms of Chamoul and Justus are not out of the ordinary and have no particular points of interest. In his translation Mr. Winstedt notices all the Greek words used in the Coptic text. Occasionally there are sentences of which the meaning is most doubtful, and in such

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cases Mr. Winstedt frankly admits that he does not know what is meant. 'He did not hide them from (?) him like grains of dust (??),' pp. 112, 113, perhaps means 'He did not account them (even) as dirt.'

In the Coptic text the most generally accepted Berlin system has been followed, though the editor admits that he has sometimes been inclined to rebel against it. There are a good many misprints in the English, which are probably to be accounted for by the fact that the book was printed in Leiden.

HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES.

The Continuity of the Church of England Before and After its Reformation in the Sixteenth Century, with Some Account of its Present Condition. Being a Course of Lectures, delivered at St. Petersburg in the Official Residence of the Chief Procurator of the Holy Synod, to Audiences consisting for the most part of Members of the Orthodox Church of Russia. By F. W. Puller, of the Society of St. John the Evangelist, Cowley. (Longmans. 1912.) 3s. net.

THE preface to this book contains an account of Fr. Puller's visit to Russia at the invitation of a Russian society for promoting friendly relations between the Russian and English Churches, presided over by the Bishop of Kholm, of the delivery of the lectures, and of a very interesting conference on the Filioque clause in the Creed with some of the professors attached to the

St. Petersburg Spiritual Academy.

The lectures themselves are four in number. The first is a sketch of the history of the Church of England from the Sixth century to the Sixteenth. The second and third are on the legal and spiritual continuity of the English Church before and after the Sixteenth century. The fourth is an account of the present condition of the English Church. They are of high excellence, and admirably suited to give a clear idea of the main features of the history of the Church in England. The most important matters in which they are open to criticism are that Father Puller says very little about characteristic differences between East and West and about points in which the English Church is thought by Easterns to be unprimitive and wrong: in particular, the prohibition 1 of Confirmation and Communion

¹ The reference to this on p. 69 is very slight.

to infants, and the practice of allowing priests to marry after Ordination; that he passes very lightly over divergencies in the English Church and the real gravity of the present position; and that, while his account of the pre-Reformation English Church is mostly excellent, he does not bring out that-quite apart from the Forged Decretals, on the influence of which he lays great stress—the idea of a Church out of communion with the Pope would have been unintelligible during the Middle Ages in England as well as in the rest of the West. The treatment of the first two of these matters might easily lead some to think there is prospect of a much more speedy re-union between the English and Russian Churches than is at all likely, and that the obstacles are much less than is actually the case, a mistake from which Fr. Puller himself is evidently free. On an important detail, when Fr. Puller says dogmatically that Henry VIII 'was living in incest' with Catherine of Aragon, he ignores the possibility of Catherine's repeated statement that her marriage with Arthur had not been consummated being true.

An Anglo-Saxon Abbot: Aelfric of Eynsham. By the Rev. S. HARVEY GEM, M.A. (Edinburgh. T. and T. Clark. 1912.) 4s. net.

MR. GEM, who disarms criticism by saying in his preface that he writes for the general reader, has in fact conscientiously worked through his sources and consulted the best experts, and succeeds in giving a full and accurate account of his hero. The work might have been better arranged, and there are incidental errors, such as the frequent earldorman for ealdorman, but such blemishes, like the occasional misunderstandings of the literature of his subject, will not lesson the value of Mr. Gem's work for his readers. Quite half of it is taken up with well-chosen extracts from Aelfric's Homilies and Lives of Saints. Perhaps the author might let Aelfric point his own moral oftener than he does; especially as to his doctrine of the Eucharist, which has grown rather threadbare. But it is an honest and useful work, shewing how well English Church history will reward modest workers who do not claim to be specialists.

Methodism. By H. B. Workman, D.Lit. (Cambridge University Press. 1912.) 1s. net.

This is a wonderful shilling's worth, and a valuable addition to the Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature. As history, it is necessarily inadequate and inevitably one-sided. As a statement

of the raison d'être of Methodism it furnishes instructive and sometimes painful reading. Methodists, as Mr. Charles Booth in his Religious Influences in London has noted, are apt to blow their trumpet. It has rarely been blown more loudly than here. This 'imperial church' has 30,000,000 adherents; Whitaker's Almanack allows it 18,000,000. It is the 'largest Protestant Church in the world,' and since the 'virtual suppression of Evangelicalism as a governing force in the Church of England,' Methodism is conscious of itself as the 'representative Evangelical Church of the country.' The most is made, very naturally, of the comparative insignificance of our Communion in the United States, and in estimating the relative strength of the Methodists and ourselves in England the reversed position across the Atlantic is steadily kept in mind. The possibility of the return of Methodists as a body to our Church is scouted. But if Dr. Workman is a little aggressive and self-complacent, he can point to a true and widespread spiritual service done by the various Methodist denominations; and he helps us to understand how much closer than in the case of Churchmen is the bond of a religious interest between English Nonconformists and America.

Rose Castle. The Residential Seat of the Bishop of Carlisle. By James Wilson, B.D., Litt.D., Vicar of Dalston and honorary chaplain of the Bishop of Carlisle. With Plans and Illustrations, and an Appendix of Original Documents. (Carlisle: Charles Thurnam & Sons. 1912.) 6s. net.

Dr. Wilson has given us a very interesting book. The history of Rose Castle is practically the history of the Border from the Fourteenth to the Eighteenth century. The reader may well wonder how the Bishop of Carlisle, during most of these years, found time or thought for any Episcopal duties, so occupied must be have been with his temporal affairs.

The Bishopric was founded by Henry I. in 1133, but it was nearly a hundred years after that the See was endowed by Henry III, who divided the possessions of the Augustinian Priory in Carlisle between the Canons and the Bishop of the Diocese. A good slice fell to the See, a manor and house at Linstock, two miles north of Carlisle, properties in Penrith, Bewley Castle in Westmorland, estates and houses in Lincolnshire and Derbyshire, and residences in Carlisle and London. It was through the influence of Bishop Walter, fourth Bishop in succession and an experienced servant of the Crown, that the

Manor of Dalston, which included Rose, was added by the King's own gift to the possessions of the See in 1230. Rose henceforth became the principal residence of the Bishop. Situated seven miles south of Carlisle, it had between it and the Border the Castle and garrison of the town, so that to some extent it was safe from incursions.

'Up in the quiet valley of the Caldew, nestling in the bosom of its own woods, sheltered by the overhanging banks from the blasts from the neighbouring hills, with its undulating meadows stretching to the river where it impinges on the scar of Raughtonhead, the site must have possessed features of picturesque beauty from its first occupation . . . In addition to the attraction of its natural surroundings, the lordship of Dalston . . . extended without interruption from the furthest boundary of its demesne lands, along the west bank of the Caldew, to the walls of Carlisle. The public highway from Rose to the city gate belonged to the Bishop's franchise. No outlander stood between him and his cathedral church. The Bishop of Carlisle lived among his own people.'

If material is at hand we should welcome a further book from Dr. Wilson, giving us a history of some of the early Bishops. We would gladly know more of Bishop Ireton, 1280–1292, and Bishop Halton 1292–1324. Bishop Halton (the name is one still well known and honoured in Cumberland) entertained King Edward I and Queen Margaret at Rose for several weeks in September 1300. From Rose the King issued the writs of summons for a Parliament at Lincoln to meet January 20, 1301. This Bishop suffered many calamities during the Scottish wars of the Fourteenth century. We learn that he excused his attendance at Parliament in 1309 on account of the distance, the fear of an invasion, and his physical infirmity. He stuck to his post and flock.

'Not once but often in the blood-stained episodes of that savage period do we see the Christian graces of the warrior Bishop shine out amid the sickening details of havoc and desolation. At one time he defends a brother-in-arms against some aspersion, and at another he pleads that justice should be tempered with mercy in dealing with the vanquished foe. The records of his episcopate are not wanting in proofs of his humanity and wisdom.'

Passages such as these make us want to have the 'records of the episcopate' drawn on for greater detail. Bishop Halton died in peace at Rose in 1324. The house was twice burnt down in his time. He was succeeded by Bishop Kirkby, a fighting Bishop, who himself led his tenants against the Scots when they were harrying and burning Penrith, and drove them back

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to their own country; this was after he also had seen Rose twice burnt down. Bishop Welton who succeeded rebuilt the waste places, and in 1355 he had licence to crenellate his dwellingplace of Rose.

The Bishops had no repose or security for many centuriesthe story continues to be the same, the Castle alternately burnt and repaired. The numerous additions and improvements however had their disadvantages, for so complete had Rose become that we find, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, Bishop Meye complaining that he was turned out by the Warden of the Marches, who occupied it as a stronghold against the Scots. In 1645 it was held for the Royalists by Mr. Lowther, constable of the Castle, was taken by a party of Colonel Heveningham's regiment, and was for some time used as a prison for the Royalists. In 1648 it was again garrisoned by a company of the Royalists and after an assault of some hours was taken, and burnt by order of Colonel Cholmley. 'Rose Castle, the Bishop's best seat,' writes Fuller about this time, 'hath lately the rose therein withered, and the prickles in the ruins thereof only remain.' It was sold in 1649 to Colonel Heveningham, with other manors, for little over \$4000. It is said that the Colonel fitted up the offices for his own residence. Bishop Sterne, who was nominated on the Restoration, found the buildings in great ruin.

The Castle was in jeopardy once more during the '15, and the '45. The swollen condition of the river Caldew prevented the rebels reaching the house in 1715, and on the next occasion a domestic incident appealed to the gallantry of the Captain of the Scottish party, and so saved the Castle. At the time of his arrival the infant granddaughter of the Bishop, Sir George Fleming, was about to be baptized; the Captain not only drew his men off without disturbance, but gave the white cockade from his bonnet for the baby to wear at her baptism and to be a protection against any stragglers. All the succeeding Bishops found work to be done in repairs until the year 1821, when Hugh Percy was appointed to the See. He took a large view of the situation, called in Thomas Rickman, and Joseph Paxton, and at his own cost of £40,000 put the house, out-buildings, and offices, as well as the grounds and gardens, into excellent and modern condition, so much so that since that time nothing of importance has been done: even some of the wall-papers are vet in the rooms.

The book is well printed and illustrated, and there are good ground-plans and maps. We must however take exception to one of the illustrations, that entitled 'Some Ornaments of the Bishop's Chapel.' The 'ornaments' are the sacred vessels, alms dishes, the pastoral staff, and the apparitor's verge: they are heaped up on the altar much as they would be on a counter in an Ecclesiastical warehouse or Exhibition; only the upper part of the Holy Table is shewn, and that is recognizable only by a beautifully designed Frontal. The altar ornaments proper are not in place—the Cross, candlesticks, and vases, but we are told the possessions of the Chapel. The Chapel of Rose Castle has a long chapter to itself: its history is full of interest; we should like to have a proper illustration, and we might add that it would be more suitable in a book of this kind than the one of the drawing-room as it is to-day. However this is merely a matter of taste.

Dr. Wilson has shewn himself to be a true antiquary, he has taken great trouble in unearthing documents, some of which he has printed in a valuable appendix, and he has made excellent use of them. He has produced a book which should be read by everyone in the Diocese of Carlisle—or out of it.

Porches and Fonts. By J. Charles Wall. (Wells Gardner, Darton and Co., Ltd. 1912.) 10s. 6d. net.

Mr. Wall's new book is full of information, new and old, well put together and illustrated by no fewer than one hundred and fifty-nine woodcuts, mostly good, though in some cases on too small a scale to be quite satisfactory. Many, however, occupy the greater part of a page, and make beautiful pictures. Some of the subjects are familiar to us in architectural works and in Mr. F. Bond's book on fonts, but many are new and appear to have been made expressly for this book. In the earlier portion of his work the author traces the development of the normal Gothic porch from the atrium or open court in front of the earliest Christian churches, as may still be seen at San Clemente in Rome and at Sant' Ambrogio at Milan. Between the atrium and the nave there was often a narthex or western porch the whole width of the church. The narthex continued long after the atrium had ceased to be a feature in a church plan. The Cistercian churches built in the Twelfth and Thirteenth centuries usually had one, more or less developed, and there is one at Melbourne in Derbyshire, of the Eleventh century (p. 9). Peterborough Cathedral affords a later example, and there is a still later one at Snettisham in Norfolk (p. 8).

The porch as we commonly know it seems to have originated in the deeply recessed doorways of the Norman period, during which, however, fully developed porches with side walls and considerable internal areas were sometimes made, as at Southwell Minster and elsewhere. Then in the Early and Middle Pointed periods the porch became the rule and the 'glorified doorway' the exception. In connexion with porches comes the Galilee, usually just outside the west door, as at Durham, Glastonbury, and Elv. It is inferred (p. 33) from Rites of Durham, that there was a Galilee at Lindisfarne, but that was not the case; the author of Rites is referring to the Galilee at Durham. The meaning of the term Galilee is left an open question by Mr. Wall, but the explanation which he gives from a manuscript at Durham, quoted by Hutchinson, is undoubtedly the right one, for Rupert of Deutz, quoted in the last edition of Rites, p. 220, note, says: 'Unde locum quoque, quo suprema statione processionem terminamus, nos Galilæam nominamus.' Before passing on to the subject of fonts, we may say that Mr. Wall gives much interesting information on the liturgical purposes of the porch, on other uses of it. on its position, attributes, decoration, and materials, on the Galilee and on the Parvise, and lastly on the characteristics of porches of the successive periods from Saxon to post-Reformation. With regard to certain details, it may be remarked that the 'Devil's footprint' at Canterbury (p. 30) appears from the illustration to be remarkably like 'John Wesley's footprints' on his father's tomb at Epworth, which are sections of natural formations in the stone. The place of Bede's shrine in the Galilee at Durham (p. 77) is marked by a high tomb, not merely 'by a stone in the pavement.' The quotation attributed to 'the late Canon Raine' on p. 77 is from the Brief Account of Durham Cathedral, written by his father, Dr. Raine, in 1833. Among remarkable post-Reformation porches might have been mentioned that which Bishop Cosin is supposed to have erected at Brancepeth, when rector of that parish.

The second part of the work consists of an historical introduction tracing the manner of baptism from New Testament times, the practice of which is continued in the *Didache*, which says 'But if thou hast not running water, baptize in other water.' In Anglo-Saxon England St. Augustine baptized in the Swale, and St. Paulinus in the Glen, at any rate on occasions when thousands were admitted to the rite. During the persecutions baptism was administered privately in baths and tanks, but

when freedom of worship came, great detached baptisteries were erected near to the churches that were then built, as at the Lateran in Rome, and at Ravenna, Pisa, etc., the large size of the central tanks or fonts providing for the great number of adult candidates. Archbishop Cuthbert built a detached baptistery at Canterbury, and it has been supposed that the western annexes of some of our earliest churches, e.g. Deerhurst, may have been or have included baptisteries. We know but little of how fonts came to be placed within the churches, but Bede tells us how St. Augustine baptized King Ethelbert in the church of St. Martin at Canterbury, and the font in that church (p. 187), which is of the tub form and built of dressed wedge-shaped blocks of stone, is possibly the font then used. The surface ornament

has probably been superadded at a later date.

Following the historical introduction we have a chapter on the materials of the font, wood, brick, metal, marble, and stone; then one on liturgical observances, and font cloths, under which come the subjects of immersion, affusion and paterae, ladles, etc., used therein, divided fonts and side bowls, chrism, chrismatories, chrism robes, and chrisom children. The First Book of Edward VI. orders that when a woman is churched she shall offer the child's chrisome, and in the earlier registers of baptism at St. Oswald's, Durham, the word 'cude' is added in several cases, indicating the offering of a chrisom cloth, as appears from the account of the word in the New English Dictionary. The term 'chrisom child 'survives in Shakespeare. It will be remembered how Mistress Quickly, speaking of the death of Falstaff, said 'Nay, sure, he's not in hell; he's in Arthur's bosom, if ever man went to Arthur's bosom. 'A made a finer end, and went away, an it had been any chrysom child.' (Henry V., Act II., Scene 3, ed. 1791.) The 1599 ed. has 'Christome Child.' Under 'The Reformation' we have evidence of the struggle for the retention and use of proper fonts, under 'The Commonwealth' of their destruction, and under 'The Restoration' of new ones being made in place of those which had been destroyed. The list of 'Desecrated Fonts' (p. 237) might be largely augmented. The account of 'Ornamentation' (p. 243) is of great interest, and there is a separate chapter on Leaden Fonts (p. 276), in which it appears that there are no fewer than six in Gloucestershire. all cast from the same mould. One of the most beautiful as well as one of the largest (interior diam. 25 in., depth 181 in.) is the one at Barnetby-le-Wold in Lincolnshire (p. 276), and the most interesting that at Brookland in Kent, on which are represented the Signs of the Zodiac and the Labours of the Months (p. 282). The chapter on 'The Evolution of the Font' is well illustrated by a representation of Baptism of Saxons from a Fifteenth century MS. in which wooden hooped tubs of water are placed in the open air. In two of these kneel candidates unclothed save that they are crowned, while other persons are being led to other like tubs. By the first-named tubs stand ecclesiastics, one having a book and another a chrism-box, while four attendants hold lighted tapers. Many other representations of hooped tubs remain at Tournay and elsewhere, living traditions of tub baptisms (p. 286). The earliest stone and lead fonts are tub-shaped, then the stone fonts had a moulding round the middle, and this encircling band tightened by degrees until the tub assumed the form of a chalice. Then the bowl was set on a pedestal and base, resulting in the form known as the 'mounted font.' A chapter on Font Covers concludes the work, which we can heartily recommend as well worth having.

Besides those matters to which we have called attention under 'Porches,' there are, as is unavoidable in a work of this kind, a few little things that might be attended to for a future edition. The subjects mentioned on p. 233 are not from 'the Durham Gospels' (how could they be?) but from a MS. Life of St. Cuthbert. In the first line of p. 217, 'clops' must be a misreading arising out of the similarity of the old character for thto the letter 'p'. Cosin's font, and Peter Smart's abusive language concerning it, might have been referred to on p. 223. We think that the 'spoon' for affusion on a cross at Kells (p. 201) is a ladle; there are some of the same kind on early crosses at Durham, and, like that at Kells, they are too large for spoons. The rudely sculptured tub font at Everingham (p. 238) has long been in the private chapel of Lord Herries at the Hall. It has been described and figured in the Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, and represents a hunting scene. The Bingley 'font' (so called) is probably the socketed base of a cross, and the runes are so much defaced that no reading of them can be depended on as more than imaginary. Two very interesting points not referred to above are, that churchwardens' accounts in the City of London include payments for water for the font (p. 222), and that old fonts, when new ones were provided, were buried in the churches to secure them from profanation (pp. 228, 289). This reminds us of the Jewish custom of burying worn-out MSS. of the Holy Scriptures in the graves of good men, which may be very ancient, and may partly account for there being so few Hebrew MSS. of very early date.

- 1. Heraldry of the Church. By the Rev. E. E. Dorling, M.A., F.S.A. The 'Arts of the Church' series. (Mowbrays. 1912.) 1s. 6d. net.
- 2. Church Embroidery. By ALICE DRYDEN. The 'Arts of the Church' series. (Mowbrays. 1912.) is. 6d. net.

Mr. Dorling's book is intended for the use of church decorators. Shields of arms likely to be wanted are described in popular language rather than by heraldic phraseology, and are figured in eighty-three excellent woodcuts. Where ancient authorities exist, these are cited, but some shields have been devised by the writer for saints to whom no 'arms' have hitherto been assigned. The Introduction contains some very useful directions concerning the right modes of heraldic drawing and colouring. The first part includes the arms of all the sees, including the newest, in the provinces of Canterbury and York; then follow shields especially associated with our Lord and with the Holy Trinity; then the usual symbols of the Four Evangelists placed on shields, and lastly, arms assigned to saints. It will now be understood what a very useful little book this may be for the persons for whom it is intended, but we must not part with it without a few words of criticism. In connexion with the arms of the see of Canterbury, p. 16, the archbishop's cross, by an error that prevailed to a great extent in the Nineteenth century, but which has been repeatedly exposed, is described as 'an archbishop's crozier.' We may perhaps refer the author to the New English Dictionary under 'Crosier,' and to Archaeologia LII, there cited. The same term is rightly applied to the pastoral staff of a bishop (or archbishop), on p. 44. On p. 154 the arms of St. William of York are by some unaccountable mistake assigned to St. Wilfrid, and a fanciful reason is given for them. The arms of St. Wilfrid appear in mediaeval work in the minsters of York and Ripon, and are rightly given in Dr. Jessopp's edition of Husenbeth's Emblems of Saints as 'Azure, three Estoiles, two and one, Or.' Those of St. William follow, as 'Gules, nine mascles, Or, three, three, and three' (Appendix II, p. 35). It is correctly stated on p. 74 that the distinction of a coronet around the mitre belongs to the Bishop of Durham alone, but perhaps a word of caution against the error of assigning it to the archbishops would not have been out of place. There are ancient authorities for arms of the Fourth Evangelist as an Apostle, in Husenbeth, Emblems, App. II, p. 24.

The author of Church Embroidery deals with the subject first

historically and archaeologically, and then technically. In Chapter I she gives an historical sketch of English Ecclesiastical embroidery from Saxon and Norman to post-Reformation times, not including the revival of the art in the Nineteenth century, though that is referred to in connexion with the practical details of modern work, and some of the illustrations are from recent examples. Chapter II contains a fairly complete account of extant pieces of ancient English embroidery that are of any importance, but some others might have been mentioned, as, for instance, the four pre-Reformation copes now at Durham besides the one presented by Charles I. There is reason to suppose that chasubles were used in Durham down to 1627. for in that year a Chapter order was passed that three vestments and one white cope were to go to London to be altered into three copes. At Ushaw College is a cope with English orphreys on it having figures of saints in the usual way. One of these figures is that of a king holding a ship, with the inscription S. Tulius, which puzzled the authorities there until it was pointed out that 'Tulius' was a Latin form of Tooley, the English name of St. Olave, whose name is preserved in Tooley Street in London. The Bayeux 'tapestry,' so called, is, we suppose, neither ecclesiastical nor English, else it might have afforded some excellent illustrations of Norman design and technique. There is a letter of one Botwine to Lullus Archbishop of Mayence, A.D. 781-5, sending 'iii lacernas,' probably ecclesiastical vestments enriched with the far-famed opus Anglicum. It is somewhat strange that after the middle of the Fourteenth century a distinct decline is visible in design, as in execution, and that the English school of illumination of MSS. shews a similar decline a little later, while the art of painting on glass continued to improve up to the time of the Renaissance. In connexion with the profanation of sacred vestments, which the late Mr. Spurgeon characterized as 'Popish peltry rightly served,' we may refer to a great many cases recorded in Peacock's 'Lincolnshire Inventories,' entitled 'Church Furniture.' A new style of embroidery appears to have become usual in the later mediaeval period, conditioned by the use of velvet as a material, which then became general.

The technical portion of the book appears to be exceedingly well done, and will be most acceptable to any ladies who are not already experts in the art, or even to those who are. It deals with modern methods and materials, those of mediaeval times being referred to where they seriously differ. Tools, materials, foundation, preparation, stitches, working of gold

thread, figure work, general rules, appliqué, inlaid, and heraldic work, also lettering and design, and the principal modern uses of embroidery, all pass under notice, and are dealt with by one evidently thoroughly conversant with her subject. Among modern materials we find aluminium thread, which does not tarnish, as a substitute for silver thread, which soon blackens in presence of gas; also Japanese paper gold, which appears to be a very convenient and serviceable material for wrapping round thread in narrow strips, as similar strips of solid gold used to be. We do not understand the statement that 'the disadvantage of the metal is that when old and decayed it rotted the silk it touched,' for gold never decays, and if the silk rots that is not the fault of the metal. A real disadvantage would be its great cost.

It appears that the only remaining ancient dalmatics are not in England or of English work, so that recourse must be had to other evidence. We may refer to the minute account by Reginald of Durham of a magnificent dalmatic of purple and gold that was on the body of St. Cuthbert in the Twelfth century. In connexion with stoles we are told that they should be 9 to 10 feet long, not more than 3 inches wide, with splayed and fringed ends, not the ugly modern 'spade ends.' They should, if embroidered, be covered from end to end. The crosses now so often seen are of modern introduction. On no account should an altar-frontal be stretched on a frame, the easiness and play that it has when hung giving light and shade to the colours and relief to the pattern. Another sound remark is that needle-point or bobbin-lace should never be used in our churches, and never was used until latter-day 'Ritualists' copied modern Roman usage. Indeed the author goes so far as to say that it is 'as thoroughly out of place in a church as are the terrible images and paper flowers it accompanies on the Continent.' The fact is that it did not exist in England till after the Reformation, and those who like it may fairly say that it is no more out of place than gas or electric light, or, let us say, aluminium thread or Japanese gilt paper. It is just a matter of taste, in the case of a surplice, say, whether we prefer a whole one without lace, or a half or a third, or a fourth part of one with that flimsy addition; only a whole one would seem to be more in accordance with the Ornaments Rubric. The remarks that we have now made may appear in parts to be a little disconnected, but they are just what have occurred to us in going through the 176 pages and 32 illustrations in this truly admirable little book.

V. Social Questions.

- I. Wages. By A. J. CARLYLE, M.A., D.Litt. 'Christian Social Union Handbooks.' (Mowbrays. 1912.) Is. net.
- 2. Birmingham Studies in Social Economics. I. Environment and Efficiency. By Mary Horner Thomson. (Longmans. 1912.) 2s.
- 3. Birmingham Studies in Social Economics. III. The Social Policy of Bismarck. By Annie Ashley. (Longmans. 1912.) 2s.
- 4. Wealth and Welfare. By A. C. Pigou, M.A., Professor of Political Economy in the University of Cambridge. (Macmillan. 1912.) 10s. net.

In his preface Dr. Carlyle truly remarks that the judgement of serious students has in recent years undergone important changes in respect of theories of wages and their relation to the present industrial situation. Mill's 'Wages Fund' theory, for instance, has given place to the view that wages can rise in proportion to the efficiency of the labourer. But, as Dr. Carlyle points out, it is quite another thing to say that the labourer does always receive wages in proportion to his efficiency. He does not, as a matter of fact, in many cases receive the minimum necessary to maintain him in efficiency. This, in the interests of production, might usefully be secured to him by legislation, while some at least of the principal causes which prevent effective bargaining between employers and workmen might also be removed by state intervention. And though this means an abandonment of laissez-faire it can be defended on quite other than socialistic grounds. Non-interference is, in fact, a comparatively new thing in industrial history. It has grown up in, say, the last 150 years, and it has not justified its claim to survival. All this is brought out with simplicity, clearness and moderation in what is, in fact, a brief essay on the history of wages in England. It is, however, a little disappointing to find in a book emanating from Oxford such sentences as 'We will do well to approach the question-.' 'This point, of course, has often been urged in later times, but it has not always been noticed what it implies.' 'The condition of the great mass of the human race must be one of want and penury, unless, and in so far as, the great mass of the population can be persuaded to limit its increase.' 'No

one can seriously doubt that trade-unions have in the past—and are in the present—able to secure great improvements.' 'Most workpeople are not so helpless as they are in the sweated trades.'

Chapters II, III and IV are a useful introduction to the history of the economics of wages, but, in emphasizing the security of slaves and serfs against unemployment, and the interest of masters in maintaining them in efficiency, Dr. Carlyle omits, like others of his school, to deal with the condition of those who, through injury, illness or age, became, or threatened to become, economically unprofitable servants.

Environment and Efficiency and The Social Policy of Bismarck were submitted as theses by candidates for the Social Study Higher Diploma or for the Higher Degrees of the University of Birmingham. The writer of the preface to the first describes it as an attempt to apply the test of statistical experiment to the claims put forward by the extreme Eugenists on behalf of Heredity. The author herself, however, goes a step further by proclaiming that her object is not only to test but to refute. 'My chief purpose has been to show by a collection of definite results the overwhelming part played by environment in the building-up of human efficiency.'

The framework is supplied by the eight classes into which Mr. Charles Booth in his Labour and Life of the People divided the population of East London. In the Introduction Mr. C. P. Mudge, as the champion of Eugenistic Extremism, is gently but firmly ruled out. With the aid of quotations from Professor Thomson, the faith is formulated that 'Heredity, function and environment are the three determining factors of life.' 'These three alone,' it seems, 'lead life to sovereign power'—or the reverse.

There is, of course, no more room here than in Eugenics for objective spiritual forces or the miracles of grace. It does not follow that Miss Thomson rejects such forces because, for the present purpose, she ignores them, but her parody—surely no 'paraphrase'—of John Bradford's words is at least suggestive, 'There but for the force of circumstances go I.'

This writer draws largely, not without due acknowledgement, on the store of evidence collected by the Royal Commission on the Poor Law, but there seems to be some error in the quotation at page 77. 'In Liverpool seventeen (out relief) boys work in much the same employment as the Lambeth boys and 3 per

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cent. of them are stated to be dull or very dull.' Of the Lambeth boys it had previously been stated that 35 per cent, were described as dull, and it is difficult to materialize 3 per cent, of seventeen

The whole 'study,' interesting, sincere, and even important as it is, has a certain almost inevitable inadequacy. If even Mr. Charles Booth's statistics were, admittedly, less than exhaustive, Miss Thomson's are so limited in range as to be valuable rather as illustrations than as the basis of a valid induction; and the reflexions—notably those in Section IV. I—are more or less tentative and unconvincing. Yet it is something to have so used facts and figures as to stimulate thought on sound lines and, with the exception, perhaps, of the phrase 'an ever increasing minority, 'to have preserved a high standard of lucid expression.

In The Social Policy of Bismarck we find ourselves on quite different ground, for this is less a study of principles than of the attitude towards certain questions of a man of unique qualities and opportunities. It is, incidentally, an essay of some value in the appreciation of Bismarck. To the enigma of that unique personality a whole section (i.e. chapter) is devoted. While accepting Schmoller's dictum that 'Everything idealistic, abstract, doctrinaire he hated like poison,' Miss Ashley points out that he was fond of Shakespeare and Goethe, of music, especially Beethoven, of scenery, and out-of-door life. Yet there are different ways of being fond of these things. Music, and even the drama, can be loved in a curiously unimaginative way and, as to poetry, few things are stranger than the dryness of some students of Dante.

Bismarck, we are told, belonged to the group of those who trust experience rather than thought, and 'It is probably because of his dependence upon experience that Bismarck had so little understanding of, or intimate sympathy with, the working man. He could not get inside his mind and think his thoughts.' Yet -and this again is not uncommon—' However little he cared for "mankind" Bismarck cared intensely for certain people-his wife, his children, his sister, one or two friends, and his half friend, half master, the Emperor William.' Was he cruel? 'It is hard to believe that the man who deliberately brought on two great wars had not a certain callousness to pain, and he himself said that his hate was as necessary to him as his love.' Yet 'a man may have a much less violent dislike to actual war than to a state of things which allows the citizens of a powerful state to

live squalidly and miserably,' and it was he also who said in looking back, 'Had it not been for me . . . the lives of 80,000 men would not have been sacrificed and many parents, brothers, sisters and widows would not now be mourners.' Were his measures of State Socialism disinterested? Miss Ashley replies:

'Bismarck and his party believed in a benevolent monarchy. To a certain extent they supported the benevolence for the sake of the monarchy in order to induce others to support the monarchy for the sake of the benevolence. But this led them to a real perception of the value of benevolence.'

If about 1876 Bismarck seemed to turn round and certainly became the opponent of factory legislation, Miss Ashley thinks that this was chiefly because 'he was beginning to feel that the real need of the people lay elsewhere'—viz. in security of maintenance in sickness, accident, invalidity and old age and, if possible, unemployment. 'And with the exception of provision against unemployment, the most difficult, though perhaps under modern conditions the most necessary of all, he gained what he desired for the people.'

There is, incidentally, an interesting reference to the possible influence of Lassalle, of whom Bismarck spoke in high terms,

refusing, however, to reckon him as a Social Democrat.

These sections on Bismarck are led up to by a useful one on the History of German State Socialism, 'a wave of opinion too powerful and far-reaching to be called a school, which has influenced German policy more or less for thirty years and seems likely to continue to do so for many years to come.' Miss Ashley finds its origin in 'Public spirit, dislike of the bourgeois, the hope of winning the working men from Social Democracy, and a bureaucratic trust in State action.' The fact, however, that in origin, in spirit and in circumstances, German State Socialism is essentially National, does not absolve the politician or the economist from the duty of making some acquaintance with Bismarck's experiments in Insurance, or diminish the value and interest of this introduction to the subject.

Professor Pigou's study of 'Wealth and Welfare' is an undeniably tough book, and the question is whether it is not rather tougher than it need be. The same may, of course, be said of *Sordello*, but it is more distinctly the duty of a writer on Political Economy than of a poet to be as lucid as possible.

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On the other hand, if it is a merit of Dr. Carlyle's little book on wages that it shews how easy some problems of political economy can be made to look, it is perhaps a merit of Mr. Pigou's more elaborate work that it shews how difficult all the problems of political economy really are. Indeed a suitable purgation for the slipshod dogmatist might perhaps be devised from a series of periodical examination papers based upon the study of this volume. Through discussions which the author frankly describes as 'difficult' or 'elaborate,' through reservations and qualifications, through a jungle of mathematical formulae, the sciolist is slowly led-or permitted to find his way-to a minimum of positive conclusion. To the writer, probably, the whole process has been a joy-a happy exercise of mathematical faculty in theory and application, and the lapses into humanity are rare and quickly checked. Yet it may be doubted whether the frequently recurring references to 'elasticity' (e.g. of demand) equal to or greater or less than unity will make the important arguments founded on them intelligible to those readers other than professed economists for whom this book, with the exception of certain specified chapters, is supposed to be adapted. How many of them will grasp, without explanation, the fact that in Science elasticity means not power of expansion, but power of resuming normal proportions on the removal of stress, and that in mathematics this capacity can be expressed by the relations of fractions to unity?

There are, however, not a few pages—by-products for the most part, and separable from the main argument—which may be usefully studied by any reader of intelligence to whom social and economic questions are not wholly unfamiliar. The numerous allusions to the Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Law afford, for instance, an important and instructive commentary on that much talked-of and little studied document. There is also (in Chapter IV of Part I) an interest-ing and effective defence of political economy (as concerned with 'environment') against the extreme biologists who, having exclusive regard to the effects of heredity, virtually sum up

sociology in eugenics.

At page 468 Dr. Marshall is quoted as describing how, in certain circumstances, business men are 'put on their metal.' If he made this slip it should surely have been corrected, and if he did not he is rather hardly treated.

It is not possible in a short notice to state with any adequacy,

much less to criticize, the connected argument of Professor Pigou's

book. Indeed, he himself declines the task in his concluding chapter. 'Its main drift,' he says, 'is already displayed in the Analytical Table of Contents.' Yet in his Preface he admits that the drift of the argument is there only 'indicated in a brief and incomplete manner' and 'this table is not a summary and . . . deliberately ignores the more difficult parts of the discussion.' In Chapter V of Part I he pauses to 'look before and after,' and it will be best to quote a few lines from that chapter.

'The conclusions we have reached may now be repeated. They are to the effect that (1) other things being equal, an increase in the size of the national dividend will probably increase economic welfare; (2) other things being equal, an increase in the absolute share of the national dividend accruing to the poor will probably increase economic welfare; and (3) other things being equal, a diminution in the variability of the national dividend, especially of the part accruing to the poor, will probably increase economic welfare.'

The rest of the argument, he points out, must be greatly complicated by the fact that 'the same cause will often affect the size, the distribution and the variability of the dividend, and it is not, prima facie, necessary that it should affect them all harmoniously.' He proposes therefore, as, on the whole, the most convenient arrangement (however lacking in logical symmetry), to begin by shewing, in Part II, that the generality of causes which affect the size of the dividend and the absolute share of the poor, act harmoniously upon these two quantities, and then to examine successively certain principal causes upon which the size of the dividend depends.' Part III is to contain a general investigation of the effect of attempts to improve the distribution of the dividend by deliberate transference of resources from relatively rich to relatively poor persons, and, finally, in Part IV he will 'study separately causes whose primary effect is on the variability of the dividend.'

It is noticeable that, though the title of the book and its first chapter recognize the distinction between 'welfare' and 'economic welfare,' the whole argument is directly concerned with the latter. But, admitting that economic welfare is, as it were, 'a part of a part of welfare,' the author contends that 'there is a presumption that conclusions about the effect of an economic cause upon economic welfare will hold good also of the effect on total welfare. The burden of proof lies upon those who hold that, in any particular case, this presumption should be overruled.'

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The Latter Day Saints. A Study of the Mormons in the Light of Economic Conditions. By RUTH KAUFFMAN and REGI-NALD WRIGHT KAUFFMAN. (Williams and Norgate, 1012.) ios, 6d, net.

Mormonism: whence is it? The True Story of Joseph Smith and of the Book of Mormon. By Right Rev. A. WILLIS, D.D. (S.P.C.K.) 2s. per hundred.

THERE are 80,000 Mormons in England, one-tenth of the total membership of the Mormon body, and in one recent year, 1910, an active force of more than 1000 missionaries distributed throughout England 162,222 books, between five and six million tracts, visited 69,139 homes, baptized 936 women, and induced 555 to emigrate to Utah. These figures taken from Mormon reports lead us to dwell on the importance of s udving the peril of Mormonism and to encourage our readers to make themselves acquainted at first hand with the account which is here given of the Mormons, their faith, marriage system, history, political influence and economies, and then we trust to deliver the results of their study in plain instruction to the general public whenever they have an opportunity. To the list of books which the authors print as having consulted we should like to add an eightpaged S.P.C.K. tract on Mormonism, No. 2809, by Bishop Willis, which we have also noted above.

The story of the rise of Mormonism surpasses the wildest excesses of Gnosticism and Montanism in the Second century. The use of sacred terms and the most holy of all names recurs as of old for doctrines and practices too horrible to be mentioned. In the first few chapters of the book the authors give an excellent account of the environment and beginnings of Mormonism, and enable us to determine whether Joseph Smith, now worshipped by Mormons as a god, was divinely inspired, or was a fraud and a cheat. We must confine our remarks to the two important points of Mormon faith, and Mormon practice. In two chapters on the Old and New Mormon religion there is abundant material given which shews that the god of Mormonism is a deified man, with body, parts, and passions. The Mormon teaching about our Lord Jesus Christ is shewn to be, as Bishop Willis says, 'such shocking blasphemy' that it cannot be printed here. As to practice, we must bear in mind that Mormons lie freely in public about their private practice, as this book undoubtedly proves. The chapters on polygamy, begun, suspended and revived shew that although polygamy is forbidden by the

United States Government, and although its practice is denied by Mormon missionaries, yet the aims of anti-Christian Mormon agents in this country include an attempt to decoy young women away to Utah for the harems of the wealthy Mormons. The Minority Divorce Report has recently reminded us all of some serious conditions of marriage laws and practices in the United States. That Report, in conjunction with the facts so concisely stated in this book, will, we trust, awaken in many readers an earnest desire to prevent young Englishwomen from being lured into a condition of life in Utah from which escape is terribly difficult. But if they are to be protected, we must take Mormon work in England more seriously.

VI.--EDUCATION.

The Evolution of Educational Theory. By John Adams, Professor of Education in the University of London. (Macmillan. 1912.) 10s. net.

UNDER the common title, 'The Schools of Philosophy,' Sir Henry Jones is editing a series, of which this is the first volume to appear. Professor Adams thus describes his work:

'This book does not profess to be a history of educational theory, and makes no pretence of giving a chronological account of all the happenings that mark the process by which our present stage of educational theory has been reached. It is enough if it indicates the great lines of progress, and brings them into relation with each other. A discussion of the probabilities of the prehistoric period will be followed by a general account of the development of educational theory up to the dawn of the Renaissance. At this point begins to emerge the great problem of Formal Discipline as opposed to Specific Education—probably, since it involves the whole question of training, the most important problem for professional educators. In order that Formal Discipline should have its proper background, a chapter on Specific Education will intervene between the general development of educational theory and the consideration of the place of knowledge as an educational organon. Humanism, Realism, Naturalism, Idealism, Materialism and Atomism will be treated in that order, and this will be followed by a general discussion of the present position of educational theory and its prospects.' (pp. 102-3.)

If metaphysics be an obstinate asking of questions concerning what is fundamental, Dr. Adams has given us in this book a true 'Metaphysik zur Erziehung,' to plagiarize a famous title. The greater portion of it passes in review not only the main propositions which form educational theory, but also the many

general terms which are so readily current that they commonly escape all question. Terms and propositions are submitted to the fullest examination, which is conducted with great insight and fairness. The Socratic process is employed in a fashion which testifies to the still inchoate condition of its theme, and at the same time renders that theme a very real service. An illustration is afforded by the manner in which the notion of formal training is handled. The assumption, that specific kinds of mental activity are capable of exercising a diffusive influence over the mind, is responsible for a good deal of educational practice. The author traces its different appearances under various aliases, and brings out the error underlying them. A discussion of the thorough kind here conducted by Professor Adams goes far towards clearing up some nebulous thinking which has in the past made effective administration impossible. and which still beclouds the real issues with which administration should deal. On the other hand, the element of truth in this widely accepted assumption is made evident, it is to be hoped to the silencing of those extremists who see in 'the dogma of formal education' the cause of all the anomalies of educational practice. and the reason for most of its failures.

But a Metaphysic is not a History; and we find it very difficult to appreciate the standpoint of a work which adopts any other treatment than a predominantly historical one in presenting 'the evolution of educational theory.' Not that Professor Adams ignores the historical aspect of his subject; the very titles of at least seven of his twelve chapters protest the contrary. But the point is, that a theme, which would seem to be essentially historical, is so presented that history serves merely as illustrative matter. The author does not invariably succeed in avoiding the dangers attaching to this method. When the main direction ceases to be historical, illegitimate generalizations and important omissions threaten to weaken work in other respects sound. In this connexion, it is to be regretted that Professor Adams lends the weight of his authority to the jargon of German and American label-makers, who misapply such terms as 'Realism,' 'Naturalism,' and the like, words which have a recognized place in the history of philosophy. Historical generalizations are not to be reached so easily as such terms imply, and the historical study of Education is only falsified by their use. Thus, Humanism and Scholasticism are said to aim at knowledge, while their respective correlates, Naturalism and Monasticism, aim at forming a kind of man. But, if ever

Humanism found embodiment, it was in Fifteenth-century Italy, when its ideal was *Virtù*, personal distinction, necessarily embodied in a very definite kind of man.

From the historical point of view, the gravest defect of the book is its omission of any sufficient study of the mediaeval education. It says much about the pre-historic, the Greek, the Roman, the 'Renaissance,' and considerable attention is given to Monasticism and Scholasticism. But neither of these last covers the field of education as defined by the activities of the Church during the Middle Ages. A corporate life which deliberately created schools, which gave birth to universities, which impressed its aims and ideals upon all who attempted to found systems of popular instruction, cannot be left out of the evolution of educational theory. It is not too much to say that the book misses the point of Christian education altogether, some twenty lines perhaps excepted; we would willingly exchange the speculative discussion of 'prehistoric' education and of cosmic

process for this more germane topic.

Yet the book is distinguished by its masterly studies of Rousseau, Froebel and Herbart. Indeed, there are few educational questions of to-day, the omitted religious question excepted, which are not raised and discussed with admirable temper and understanding. This is true especially of the very opportune discussion respecting the State and the individual. We suggest that thinking would be clarified, if all who write upon this subject would replace the highly indeterminate word, the 'State.' by the more concrete term, the 'Community.' While it may be true, as Dr. Adams urges, that there is no conflict of real interests between the community and its individual members, there is often a very real conflict in things essential between those members and the executive authority which arrogates to itself the title of 'the State,' and frequently usurps its sovereignty. In his concluding chapter, the author draws a sinister picture of the future condition of public education in this country, which is, we are sure, the mirror of his fears and not of his wishes. A handful of first-rate 'State' experts are to direct the activities of a multitude of so-called 'teachers,' characterless nonentities, disguised by Dr. Adams as persons 'of a high level of average intelligence and virtue but without any special initiative.' Those who think such a state of things impossible, might ponder some of the tendencies to which the undiscriminating scholarship system now in vogue is giving birth.

What ground is there for believing with the author that the

present is one of the great constructive periods in the history of education, and not a time of restlessness which marks it as transitional only? How is our day comparable in respect of constructive educational theory with the great age of Greece, or with that elusive period, 'the Renaissance'? The tentative conclusions of those who study education experimentally are not enough to justify that belief. Units of measurement are indispensable, if education is to be studied on strictly scientific or purely inductive and quantitative lines; whether such units are attainable, or not, it is certain that they have not yet been attained. Professor Adams is of course aware of the fact, and he rightly discredits the claim of the Binet tests of intelligence. But his references to what is known as the 'correlation co-efficient ' seem much too optimistic; the differences amongst authorities themselves as to the exact formula which should be employed are so great as to excuse the layman from attaching much importance to their conclusions.

Our predilection for an historical treatment of such a subject as the evolution of Educational Theory no doubt prejudices us against any other treatment. As a reasoned statement of the principles which underlie the existing educational practices of this country and America, and as a judicious discussion of those principles, pro and con, the work under review stands in the front rank, with very few companions to share that distinction; but in our opinion it should bear a different title. Perhaps we have here yet one more example of the harm frequently done to an author's work by its inclusion in a series.

VII.—BIOGRAPHY AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

A History of English Prose Rhythm. By George Saintsbury, M.A. Oxon., Hon. LL.D. Aberd., Hon. D.Litt. Durh.; Fellow of the British Academy; Honorary Fellow of Merton College, Oxford; Professor of Rhetoric and English Literature in the University of Edinburgh. (Macmillan and Co. 1912.) 14s. net.

PROFESSOR SAINTSBURY insists that his book is a history, an attempt to shew not 'how a prose harmonist should develop his harmony, but . . . how the harmonists of the past have developed theirs.' As a history, then, we must take it, but as a critical history, in the course of which, and especially in what

the author calls 'Interchapters,' we find enlightening remarks not only on the style of individual writers, but also on the movement and changes of the general character of English prose at different periods. In the 'Conclusion,' moreover, which is not merely a final chapter, but a collection of conclusions drawn from the preceding history, we do find principles laid down which may be useful, if not to the prose harmonist in developing his harmony, yet at least to the critic of his work. The history is comprehensive, beginning with Ælfric in the Ninth century and coming down to Ruskin, Pater and Stevenson at the end of the Nineteenth. It would deserve attention if only for the selection of fine passages of English prose, some of them, indeed, familiar to all lovers of our literature, but others little known; and among the latter we think an extract from a lecture by Dean Mansel on p. 417 will surprise many readers by its power and beauty. These illustrative passages are chosen, of course, for the sake of their rhythmical quality. It would have been useful to have had at the outset a definition of what the author means by prose rhythm, more especially because, as he says, 'the subject has remained unhandled stuff and untrodden ground, or very nearly so, to the present day.' He seems to take it for granted that what he means will be understood, and not till we reach p. 346 do we get the following description of it:

'Rhythmical prose in its perfection . . . obeys to the full that universal law of prose which dictates continuous and uninterrupted flow, not merely to the close of the sentence, but (with a difference of course) to the close of the paragraph. Yet it retains . . . the rhythmical valuation of every word and syllable, and by this retention, as well as by the intense variety of its rhythm, it is further distinguished from the lower kinds of prose proper.'

This is good so far as it goes; but it will be seen that it is applicable as much to the metrical prose of Cicero and Quintilian as to the English prose which is the author's subject. It corresponds, indeed, exactly to Cicero's 'fluens sit oratio' and to St. Augustine's 'Rhythmus pedibus certis provolvitur, sed ipsa provolutio non habet modum nec statutum est in quoto pede finis aliquis emineat.' In fact, in his analysis of English prose Professor Saintsbury treats it exactly like Latin and divides it into feet,—trochees, dactyls, paeons, etc., made up of syllables which he calls long and short. Here is a sentence from Landor (p. 329) as an example:

¹ De Musica, iii. 1.

| Thěre wás something | in the tint | of the tender | sprays | resembling | that of the hair | they encircled; | the blossoms, too | were white | as her forehead. |

Admiring, as we do, Professor Saintsbury's learning and industry and enthusiasm, we regret much to say that we think him quite mistaken in thus basing his analysis of the rhythm of English prose upon the treatment of the syllables as long or short. In our opinion the basis of rhythm in English prose, as in English verse, and as in the cursus of mediaeval Latin, is not quantity but accent, not the length of a syllable but the stress cast upon it. The Professor himself supplies the refutation of his system in a footnote on page 15. The words "Ockham" and "Oakham" have, he says 'the same rhythmical effect.' We agree, but the first syllable in Ockham is short, while in Oakham it is long. How, then, can the rhythmical effect, which is the same. depend on the quantity, which is different? In fact the rhythmical effect or value depends on the accent, which in both words falls on the first syllable. Consider the following words, in each of which (p. 279) the author marks the first syllable longmonarchy, levellers, solemn, évery. In fact the first syllable is not long in any of them. Compare them with the following, in which the first syllable is really long—mobile, leaving, soldier, evening. In both groups of words the first syllable is accented, and it is on this accent that the rhythmical value depends. Professor Saintsbury tries to get over the difficulty by saying (p. 21, note) that the English language grants 'the power of length to stress.' But this only means that he chooses to call a short syllable long when it is stressed. The syllable remains exactly the same. The syllable 'mon' is short in sermon, where it is not stressed, and it remains short in monarchy, where it is stressed. The difference is simply one of accent, and we can see no reason for calling it anything else. To do so seems to us only to make the inquiry unnecessarily difficult and confusing. It is unfortunate that this confusion should have been introduced into Professor Saintsbury's book; but the book is none the less learned and interesting, and will be indispensable to some future inquirer into the nature of English prose rhythm, who must take into account accent above all, but must consider also the length of syllables, the sound of vowels, and indeed of consonants too, alliteration, emphasis, some still surviving characteristics of euphuism, and the construction of sentences and paragraphs. We observe that in discussing the Revisers of the Authorized

Version of the English Bible Dr. Saintsbury 'charitably' hopes that their misdeeds may be recorded in the second place described in Dante's poem, and not in the first.

Turning Points in My Life. By W. P. DuBose. (Longmans. 1912.) 3s. 6d. net.

THOSE who are familiar with Dr. DuBose's theological books will be glad that he has published this short account of his life. It consists of a series of addresses delivered at a reunion of those whom he taught during thirty-six years of labour in the University of the South. Such an occasion required something autobiographical, and hence this volume. As its title implies, it records turning points, rather than detailed developments. His conversion; the four years he spent in military service for the South in the Civil War, when his companions were the Greek New Testament, Tennyson's Poems, Pascal's 'Thoughts,' and Xenophon's 'Memorabilia'; his discovery of the reality of the Church at the time when he first went to Sewanee; and the expansion of his mind to the full comprehension of Catholic principles—these are the foci whence radiate the main tendencies of his life. And the description and justification of these tendencies is not less interesting and useful than the record of their respective sources. The book is full of admirable apophthegms. 'When I speak of my life as Catholic, I use the adjective as expressive of freedom or liberty of thought and conviction in religious matters.' To some this would seem a paradox: and there are many like it. But it is a characteristic of Dr. DuBose, as of all who think at first hand, to give to common words and conceptions a content of unexpected richness. It is such thoughts as these which have germinated in the minds of his pupils, and account for that fond relation of teacher and taught which was the life and soul of this reunion. Dr. DuBose has been a true theologian: that is to say, he has always striven to interpret the truth of God and Christ in its practical bearing upon life: and this is the secret of his power.

Francis Paget, Bishop of Oxford. By Stephen Paget and J. M. C. Crum. With an Introduction by His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury. (Macmillan. 1912.) 15s. net.

DR. PAGET'S life was full of manifold interest, and his biographers have been successful in setting an equitable representation of

its parts before their readers. Shrewsbury, Bromsgrove, Christ Church, and Cuddesdon are the spots around which the events of his life are gathered. The 'Introduction' by the Archbishop of Canterbury is concerned only with the last, the ripest period of the life, the ten years of the episcopate, and should really be read in connexion with Mr. Crum's contribution in the last quarter of the book, especially in the chapter on 'Ecclesiastical Politics.' The Archbishop speaks of the value and weight of Dr. Paget's public service, quietly, steadily, conscientiously rendered to Church and realm, based on a wealth of matured opinion upon the distinctive history, position and opportunities of the Church of England, which compelled attention. He dwells upon his power in council and debate, a notable speech in the Albert Hall against Congo misrule, when he rose to the level of highest oratory, his share in the Lambeth Encyclical in 1908. and his aid in promoting the extension of the Church in Western Canada. And all is said in the tone of closest personal friendship.

Mr. Stephen Paget has written three-quarters of the book. He gives a clear account of the debt which Paget owed to Shrewsbury. 'Shrewsbury discovered him, and was the making of him.' Part of the secret of the public-school influence may certainly be learned from these pages, and they afford a concrete example of the value of the study of Latin and Greek. The school taught him how to become a good classical scholar, how to enjoy work, and to make friends. And in this early part of the biography we catch a few further glimpses of the happy home life which was described in the Memoirs and Letters of Sir James Paget in 1901. In 1869 Paget went up to Christ Church as a Junior Student, the first of twenty-nine candidates. A First Class in Literis Humanioribus was followed by an election to a Senior Studentship, and an entrance into the domestic politics of Christ Church, then feeling its way under new conditions of administration. We read of a call from Dr. Liddon; we see Paget with Dr. Scott Holland in a reading-party group in 1873; we find a much better view of Tom Ouad than the photograph in Mr. Thompson's Life of Dean Liddell, and we learn what impression was made on Paget by Canon King's preaching. His marriage with Miss Church, of whom an excellent portrait is included, was followed by two years as Vicar of Bromsgrove, a short but fruitful ministry. He returned to Christ Church as Dr. King's successor in the Chair of Pastoral Theology in 1885, and, becoming Dean in 1892, remained at Christ Church till 1901. That he had a wide and

deep influence on undergraduates was due to several causeshis scholarship, his painstaking, his high sense of the gravity of life, and the tact of his wife, about whose excellence as a hostess no one can speak so much but that he desires to speak more. As Dean it was over the new Christ Church that he was called upon to preside. His pride and love and devotion were combined in his faithful service of the House, where he was finely said to have raised administration to the level of a pastoral office. Too much has been made in some quarters of an outbreak of undergraduate disturbance. If the episode has been allowed to obscure the lasting marks which the Dean and Mrs. Paget left on the general body of the men of the House, we may correct any false impression that lingers in the public mind by the quotation of some words written by Lord St. Aldwyn: 'I doubt if there ever was so admirable and charming a helper to the head of a college as Mrs. Paget, and long before her death both of them were appreciated as they deserved.' And we may refer to the Dean's last words at Christ Church as Dean. though we cannot quote the whole passage, full as it is of a sense of mutual understanding, trust and affection (p. 174.)

The final part of the Life, in which the Bishop became more widely known, deals with the episcopate of ten years. He had himself spent a brief time at Cuddesdon before his own ordination, and when he became Visitor of the College over the way as Bishop he had no need to remind himself or the College of the witty but sad definition once given of a Visitor as a person who does not feel quite at home. Mr. Crum's part of the work now comes to the reader's aid. In addition to the insight given in the chapter on Ecclesiastical Politics to the Bishop's attitude towards public questions, Mr. Crum has wisely determined to describe the Bishop by quoting his words about those whose lives and characters most deeply influenced him, 'an honoured company' with Hooker at its head, and with Church, Liddon and Bright among its modern representatives. We cannot but think that Mr. Crum's last chapter, on 'Work in Three Counties.' will promote the scheme for the division of the Oxford diocese. Even Paget's assiduous pastoral zeal could never overtake the demands of his task as Bishop of three such counties. We must praise the excellence of the illustrations—the frontispiece of the Bishop as Chancellor of the Order of the Garter, views of Bromsgrove Church, rooms at Christ Church and at Cuddesdon, the Cathedral, and the little graveyard adjacent. And we are glad to be able to commend the judicious selection of material

throughout, especially of passages from the Bishop's writings, his sermons, the essay on Accidie, his introductions and his prefaces, and his charges. His well-known style will be traced also in the relaxation and freedom of his letters to his son in India. He who reads the Life, and then reads again the chapter which contains quotations from the Bishop's sermons on the Christian character, will be convinced that the man had tried to practise what he preached when he set forth the Christian character as 'the coherent group of traits evinced in lives surrendered to the rule of Christ, with reliance on His grace.' He seemed as one who set himself to learn the simplicity of love, and it was because he succeeded in the attempt that he was able to teach the same lesson to his flock.

Life of William Edward Collins, Bishop of Gibraltar. By A. J. MASON, D.D. (Longmans. 1912.) 6s. net.

It would be enlightening to discover what meaning was attached by the majority of Churchmen to the appellation Bishop of Gibraltar. We believe that nine men out of ten would explain it as meaning an episcopal supervisor of the Anglican winter chaplaincies of the Riviera, whose work-days occupied half the

year and whose holidays filled the other half.

This biography should dispel such illusions. In sharp contrast to such a life of ease, it describes one of perpetual travel, a blend of the most fatiguing experiences of the Foreign Office messenger, the commercial traveller and the Wandering Jew. It shews us the Bishop of Gibraltar on his endless journeys of pastoral visitation, leading a Mission to the fleet and garrison at Malta, confirming a small group of English in New Russia, talking with Cornish miners in Galicia, cheering up an English superintendent of oil works by the Caspian Sea, consecrating a burial ground in Alicante, befriending a few lonely governesses in Roumanian or Russian families, visiting crowded health resorts and seaports and desolate settlements wherever English people are to be found in Southern Europe and along the Mediterranean coasts.

After a year's experience of this life, the Bishop wrote from Malta:—

^{&#}x27;We are always travelling, and excepting here and Gibraltar our stay is never more than two or three days. We go to Sicily

next, then Crete, Greece, Italy, etc.; in the middle of February I am in England for about five days, preaching . . . lecturing and giving addresses, consulting with the Archbishop in London, etc., and then abroad again. It is very interesting, and, I think, profitable work, but it is tiring and the opportunities for connected study and writing are not great; and it is easy to get "dissipated." . . .'

The biography tells us how 'in that missionary life the old pursuits of reading and research, writing and quiet deep thinking were renounced, cheerfully sacrificed to the routine and demands of Bishop Collins' enormous diocese.' Very few scholars can estimate the depth of that renunciation, because, happily for them, it is racing motorists, not sedentary students, who usually suffer the Bishop's fate of being driven like a wheel before the wind for the space of seven years. But Dr. Collins believed the call to have come from God, and obediently left the shelter of his library, where his chronic ill-health and insatiable scholarship had alike found peace and satisfaction, to spend the remainder of his life on railways and steamers.

He died in his forty-fifth year. In that comparatively short period he made his impress on his times by his wonderful knowledge, his literary output, his personality as shewn in his missions and his guidance of individual souls, and by his influence on contemporaneous Church history. Certainly Dr. Mason has done well in publishing the biography of such an exceptional man.

As a lad of seventeen, when William Collins was living with Canon Mason at Allhallows, Barking, his companions already marvelled at 'the wonder of his encyclopædic knowledge.' When he was Professor of Ecclesiastical History at King's College, London, Dr. Robinson declares that

'it is not an exaggeration to say that he did the intellectual work of three ordinary men. . . . Whatever the subject, the requisite knowledge was always forthcoming. Perhaps omniscience was his foible. Certainly it was hard to discover anybody or anything he did not know. There was a singular gentleness beneath all the assurance and intrepidity, and we often trembled to think how uncertain a tenure of life his was.'

Thirteen years later Dr. Collins, as Bishop of Gibraltar, made the same impression on the Patriarchs of the Eastern Church. 'If the first impression made by him on the Easterns was that of youth, the second and abiding impression was that of knowledge.' The most impressive part of the 'Life' is its records of the wonderful year 1908. In the previous winter the Bishop had successfully accomplished his hazardous mission to Mar Shimun. In the spring he took his place as one of the most inspiring leaders of the Pan-Anglican Congress in London. His 'alert and brilliant chairmanship' of the section which dealt with the Anglican Communion will never be forgotten by those who sat under him. His biographer remarks that nothing could give 'a better epitome of the Bishop's views as an ecclesiastical statesman, or a better sample of his powers, than the short speeches in which he summed up the discussions of those six days.'

(Everyone who values true and lucid definitions of the mission and position of the Anglican Church will do well to read the extracts given on pages 129–131; 32, 33; 52–54; and 163–165; and to obtain Dr. Collins' short papers written for the Church Historical Society, of which an incomplete list is given on page 28 of the 'Life.')

In the summer of 1908 we follow Dr. Collins from the Pan-Anglican Congress to the Bishops' Conference at Lambeth, where his vivid personality and important and effective share in that great Episcopal Council made one of his Transatlantic brethren describe him as 'the only pebble on the beach of Gibraltar!' In the winter we see the year close on his memorable visit of rescue to the terror-stricken people of Messina after the earthquake of December 30. His magnificent courage and self-devotion were never more grandly shewn than during that awful time. Such a concatenation of wild adventure, theological Councils, and appalling tragedy meets us more frequently in mediaeval chronicles than in biographies of Twentieth century Bishops!

Dr. Mason has, with wise discretion, allowed the account of Dr. Collins as the indomitable traveller to occupy many pages of his book. The perilous embassy to Kurdistan illustrates the extraordinary personal courage of the man as forcibly as did his services in Messina and on the Russian trading steamer

among the smallpox-stricken victims.

The book is fascinating. We have only one criticism to offer, and that concerns the system of the publication of selected letters. Why are we given no indication of the manner of person or mind to whom the letters are addressed? A letter is not improved by having its head and feet knocked off to convert it into a torso.

Sir Nathan Bodington: A Memoir. By W. H. DRAPER, M.A. (Macmillan & Co. 1912.) 5s. net.

THE publication of this interesting memoir was a very right and commendable step. Sir Nathan Bodington possessed, and deserved to possess, a host of friends to whom Mr. Draper's sketch will be welcome. In Leeds itself, when the generation which knew Bodington shall have passed away, members of the University will be glad to learn from Mr. Draper's pages what manner of man was their first Vice-Chancellor. The University of Leeds will long bear the impress of Bodington's personality and point of view; for the pioneer affects the early character of a great movement even more than the hillock or boulder affects the course of the stripling river. The perusal of this personal record may also teach something of value to the general public. The new Universities, and the Colleges from which they sprang, have suffered from nothing more than from the fact of their novelty. The public understand Oxford and Cambridge, and the public schools, grammar schools, and elementary schools; but these new seats of learning, without social prestige, without ecclesiastical associations, without hoary traditions, and with their odd mixture of curricula, have been rather a puzzle. Those who have cast in their lot with them have been made to realize the disadvantage in English education of not being in line with national and social convention, and they have often needed arguments in defence of their position. Perhaps no argument more likely to tell upon public opinion could be found than the fact that Bodington, with his fine attainments and social gifts, should have been willing to devote himself for twenty-eight years to the task of building up a local University. It would almost seem as though behind the crudities and unlovely exterior of the new University movement there must be some kindling and sustaining ideal.

Nathan Bodington came of an old Warwickshire family and was born in 1848. He was educated at King Edward's School, Birmingham, where Churton Collins was one of his schoolfellows and intimate friends. Bodington was a studious boy, indifferent to games, and in 1867 he went to Oxford as an exhibitioner of Wadham. The dominance of athletics at Oxford troubled him, and so also did 'the want of intellectual activity among the undergraduates.' Yet the balance of his mind asserted itself in his declaration that 'any man who does not like Oxford must either be a knave or an idiot.' Of his own College he remarks that quiet men were neglected, 'the whole existence of the authorities being devoted to repressing the refractory members of the College.'

He also noted that nearly all Wadham men were southerners; Birmingham, Liverpool, and Manchester being 'looked upon as three towns in the same district in a state of semi-barbarism.' Perhaps we may detect here a note of that loyalty to the industrial region of his youth which Bodington always felt, and which perhaps saved him from the perils of cultured exclusiveness. While at Oxford he began the habit of foreign travel which was a lifelong source of pleasure and interest to him. In 1871 he gained his First Class in Literae Humaniores, and after preliminary essays in tutoring and journalism, he held masterships under F. W. Walker at Manchester Grammar School and Scott at Westminster. In 1875 he was elected a Fellow of Lincoln. Mark Pattison being then Rector, and for five years he lived in Oxford, gaining an insight into University and College administration, and making friendships of the kind which counts and lasts. Dr. Warde Fowler writes an appreciation of him as a colleague during these years. He speaks of his conversational powers— 'he loved conversation more than anything else in life'— of his talent for society, and of the distinction of his manner and appearance. 'He learnt,' Dr. Fowler says, 'to be judicious and discreet as a reformer and organiser.' The Oxford climate, however, did not suit his health; and in 1881 he accepted the Professorship of Classics at the newly founded Mason College at Birmingham. Mark Pattison's letters shew how greatly Bodington's departure from Lincoln was regretted. He stayed in Birmingham only a short time, for in 1883 he accepted an invitation to go to Leeds as Principal of the Yorkshire College, which had been founded in 1874. Thenceforth until his death in 1911 Leeds claimed him. He made but one attempt to leave it, and its failure was never regretted by himself or by those who, like Lord Ripon, for so long the President of the College, had come to understand the value of his work and presence at Leeds.

When Bodington went to Leeds, the Yorkshire College was in a small way. But, like other places of its kind, it possessed the germ of life, and the able men who had called it into being were conscious that much might come from small beginnings. It is not easy to estimate justly the share taken by Bodington in the remarkable movement which led to the establishment at Leeds in 1904 of a chartered University. The eminent gifts of originating force and masterful leadership were not his. He came upon the scene after the foundations had been laid. In the crucial question whether Leeds should set up an independent University or not it is clear that his hand was forced by external events. Yet the qualities which Bodington brought to his

Principalship were strong and admirable. In addition to his natural urbanity, he had balance, breadth and depth of culture, and intellectual liberality. Yorkshire shrewdness is not always associated with these qualities. But, further, though Bodington was a moderate man, a cautious man, he held his moderate views strongly and, as Mr. Draper's volume shews in several instances, he had a fitting sense of academic dignity. If he was not a formidable originator, he had sagacious sense of what was practicable, a conciliatory tact which facilitated co-operation, and a steady persistency in pursuit of aims. The sterling quality of the man was shewn in his fearless advocacy, notwithstanding the opposition of members of his Council, of the claims of humane studies to be considered equally with those of 'technical science.' 'At Birmingham, as afterwards at Leeds,' says the Bishop of Chester in an interesting reminiscence, 'he lamented the tepidity of interest in the Arts side of College and University education.' His action in this matter was signally justified, for it is certain that unless the Arts side had been properly cared for, the claim of the Yorkshire College to enter the Victoria University in 1887 would have been defeated.

For seventeen years, Leeds, Manchester, and Liverpool held together within the limits of their federal scheme. It was the success of Birmingham in obtaining a charter for a University on a purely civic basis which gave the signal for the disruption of the Northern federation. Liverpool led the way, and with Manchester reverting to her old idea of independence Leeds had no option as to the course to be taken by herself. Bodington viewed the prospect with reluctance. He spoke of the proposed dissolution as 'a calamity to education.' If we must create a University at Leeds, he said, we can do it; but though his utterance was resolute, it was not enthusiastic. Yet it was characteristic of him that he should courageously and cheerfully face an enterprise of this magnitude, that his experienced judgement should assert itself at every stage, and that in after-years he should frankly acknowledge that 'a federal University is a pis aller.' Perhaps the most valuable letter in Mr. Draper's volume is that in which Bodington gives expression to his experienced opinion upon the merits of a federal system. He thought that while inclusion in a federal system might be useful at a certain stage of development, yet 'per se the federal University is much inferior to the self-contained localised University,' and he affirmed that the gaining of independence had meant for Leeds entrance upon a new era of financial prosperity.

In 1904 the charter of Leeds University passed the Great Seal: in 1908 the new University buildings were opened by the Sovereign, and shortly afterwards a knighthood was conferred upon Bodington. Other honours had already come to him in recognition of his long and distinguished services to University education. His honours were well earned. For a quarter of a century he had laboured, and now the first harvest had been gathered. The tax upon himself had been severe. There had been a period during which, in addition to his administrative duties, he had been responsible for teaching five subjects and had lectured sixteen hours a week. It is true that he managed before long to secure some relief from this monstrous burden, but there never was a time when he had leisure to devote himself to the literary work which attracted him. He had cheerfully borne the anxiety of conducting an institution in constant straits for money; he had found energy and policy for a rapid succession of new schemes; he had exerted himself to foster some kind of unity in a rapidly growing College; and he had had his share of those smaller personal cares and worries from which the conduct of no large institution can hope to be exempt. His devotion to public duty, his varied abilities, his vivid interests, his native courtesy, and the charm of his conversation won him an increasing measure of friendship and regard from all who during the long period of his headship came into contact with him. His relations with students were happy: in building up a new University he never forgot the grave importance of caring for the corporate life. His marriage in 1907 seemed to promise that the later years of his life, and above all the years of his retirement from office, would be spent under the happiest conditions. But he died in harness. Until the end, as Lord Ripon said on one occasion, he 'commanded the confidence alike of the Governors, the Professors who worked under him, and the students themselves.' It was character which told with attainments in producing this result. 'While he maintained his appreciation of the best wine in lifeintellectual, social, and so forth,' writes the Bishop of Chester, who was one of his oldest friends-' he abundantly proved that he also possessed the sterner stuff of character, that he could cheerfully "do the work that's nearest, though it's dull at whiles," and that, in a quiet, unostentatious way, he had much of that "entire devotion which hateth nicer hands." He had that wholesome combination of critical judgment with ardour, enthusiasm, and chivalrous temper which is so valuable in a leader of men.'

Glimpses of the Past. By ELIZABETH WORDSWORTH. Late Principal of Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford (Mowbrays. 1912.) 5s. net.

These pleasant glimpses appear to us before an ever shifting background of ancient buildings, of towers and spires, the mingled glories of Westminster, Cambridge, Lincoln and Oxford—a background as noble as the most beautiful life can desire. Before it pass the figures of leaders of thought in the two Universities, scholars and ecclesiastics, and certain laymen, including the poet Wordsworth, foreign professors and diplomatists, educationalists, and a group of 'Old Students' of Lady Margaret Hall. Now and then our stage manager allows us a longer view of one of these figures, and we see him through his kindly observant eyes in characteristic attitude such as we may remember with amused appreciation for many

a day.

For example, we may refer to Miss Wordsworth's description of the great scholar, Professor Conington, in Chapter IX, of whose portentous memory it was said that he 'always attends to, or remembers, every sermon he goes to 'as well as that he knew the handwriting of every man in the University! This formidable being complained to her in a discussion on children's books that it was 'Horrid to be set off crying by them, as he sometimes was, in a London club, or no matter where.' Or to her words on Mr. Coxe, the Librarian of the Bodleian, 'the most popular man in Oxford'; on Miss Yonge; on the group of Oxford men and women who established 'The Association for the Higher Education of Women,' Professor T. H. Green, its first Secretary, Jowett, Mark Pattison, Walter Pater, and others; or to her description in Chapter XIII of a rapturous visit paid in its early days to Lady Margaret Hall by Ruskin. 'How nice it was,' he exclaimed, 'to be an old man of sixty-five and able to see all these delightful girls!' Chapter VI is devoted to a charming account of the great Master of Trinity, Cambridge, Dr. Whewell; and scattered throughout the book are other memorable glimpses of great men and women who have done noble service for the Church in their generation, not least of whom are members of Miss Wordsworth's own family. We are grateful to her for the record she has kept of some of their sayings. We can only quote two: one, a saying of Bishop Christopher Wordsworth, her father; and the other, that of his friend. Bishop George Selwyn. Of the first she truly says that her

father's favourite saying, 'In the voyage of life, do not look at the ships around you, but at the stars above you,' might 'have been the motto of his episcopate.' The Selwyn saying is so opportune in our stormy and difficult days that we give it in Miss Wordsworth's words. She says:

'The last time that I ever saw her [the widow of Bishop George Selwyn] I was talking rather despondently about the state of the world. "Ah, my dear, you must, as my husband said, 'Sow a little Hope-seed!' There's faith, you know, and hope, and charity," ticking them off on her thin old fingers as she spoke. "Well, we say a great deal about faith, and a great deal about charity, but poor hope, somehow or other, we leave her out in the cold."'

No part of the book is more full of encouragement to the reader than its account of its author's preparation for her life work. 'Life was rather a serious matter to us,' she says in speaking of herself at the mature age of eight. 'We grew up under a rather uneasy sense of a crisis hanging over our heads,' for from 1848 and onwards Church and State were going through throes and crises. Her education consisted in 'an odd blend of Prideaux' "Connection" and half hours spent in the National School'; in 'a certain amount of lessons and a good deal of "parish"; in reading of noble books; in some superficial knowledge acquired at a Brighton boarding school, where, however, she declares that she learnt one valuable lesson, viz. 'some insight into girls and their ways'; and, after she returned home, in the copying out for the Press of her father's Commentary, in correcting the proofs and in verifying every Scripture reference. The deficiencies in this education were probably more than supplemented by the educational influence of daily intercourse with great minds at home. Its effect on her character Miss Wordsworth sums up thus:

'It often struck me in those days and strikes me still, how, in one's small personal troubles, instead of having them discussed and pitied and sympathized over, one's mind was lifted to a higher plane. The big way of looking at things which characterized our father was perhaps more real help and comfort than minute personal sympathy would have been—it was like a walk in mountain air.'

This old-world system of education has, in Miss Wordsworth's case at least, justified its claims completely by its supreme success.

Chapters XII to XVI relate the genesis of Lady Margtare

Hall. They are exasperatingly deficient in accounts of the personal experiences of its first Principal. They are also generously silent about many of the special difficulties by which the founders of Lady Margaret Hall were more heavily handicapped than were the founders of any other of the women's colleges. The answer given by Bishop John Wordsworth to his sister, when she consulted him in 1878 as to the desirability of her accepting the offer of its headship, reveals the attitude of mind with which many of her best friends regarded the experiment: 'If I thought your not going would put an end to the whole thing, I should say Don't go; but as I don't suppose it will, I think you had better accept.'

'There seemed,' explains Miss Wordsworth, 'a curious dread in some quarters of developing the intellectual side of a woman's life; and we were all the more grateful to Dr. King, Canon Scott Holland, Canon Paget, and later the Rev. Charles Gore for being successively on our Council. . . . But while a large section of the clerical world fought shy of us because we were supposed to be advanced and strong-minded, another section of society fought equally shy of us because we were supposed to be "a hotbed of Ritualism". . . we were like the bat in the fable, neither birds nor beasts, but shunned by both!

It was hard for such a loyal Churchwoman to have to fight her battle of higher education for women against legions led by Dr. Liddon, Dean Burgon and other family friends; but she fought gallantly, with wisdom and faith; and when, after a reign of thirty years, she resigned her headship, she had the crowning reward of assured victory. Lady Margaret Hall had won an honourable place in the academic world, ungrudgingly and universally accorded to her.

Mark Pattison described Miss Wordsworth as 'always trying to make a bridge between her father and the modern world.' It was no less necessary to link together the Nineteenth century and one of its bishops, 'three quarters of whom was in the Third Century and the rest in Heaven,' than it was to make a way for Christian women to pass over safely from the restricted shelter of traditional control of earlier days into the strenuous life of these days. Miss Wordsworth did both these feats. And through all her work for her students, she tells us that she was inspired by 'the dominant idea of the need of a religious basis in the lives of all educated women.'

We commend this 'chief moral' as well as the book to all our readers.

Some Questions of the Day, Biblical, National, and Ecclesiastical. By Henry Wace, D.D., Dean of Canterbury. (Nisbet. 1912.) 6s. net.

The Dean of Canterbury has reprinted in this volume thirty-five short papers from the *Record* newspaper. The best (and it is very good) is on Cardinal Newman. In many of the others he expresses his own strong opinions strongly; indeed these 'questions' are hardly questions to him. But even dissentients take pleasure in hearing things 'averr'd with such confidence as a man uses who believes himself,' and everyone with the least tincture of taste will admire the firm, pure English. To know one's own mind is half the secret of style, but Dr. Wace knows the other half of the secret also.

The Life of Henry Bailey, D.D., Honorary Canon of Canterbury, some time Warden of St. Augustine's College and Rector of West Tarring. By the Rev. E. R. Orger, M.A. (Hugh Rees. 1912.) 6s. net.

As a colleague of Dr. Bailey at St. Augustine's College, Canterbury, Mr. Orger pays a generous and well-deserved tribute of affection to his chief. He has taken a liberal view in admitting material that was indirectly connected with Dr. Bailey, and thereby has added to the interest of the book, while he has judiciously kept it within due bounds. All the sons of St. Augustine's College will have a special interest in the life of him who was Warden for more than a quarter of a century (1850-1878), and the history of the College, with its memories of Mr. Beresford Hope, has indeed a wide importance. The close connexion of the College with the Lincoln Missionary College at Burgh (whose vice-principal is named Boulter, not Boulton, p. 220) leads to some account of the younger institution. Dr. Bailey's subsequent life as Rector of West Tarring and his closing years at Canterbury afford glimpses of a clergyman who was assiduous in the regular discharge of duty to the very end. A fine example of the true pastoral spirit is to be found in Mr. Bailey's address to the parishioners of West Tarring, printed in an appendix, on the use of their parish church. Mr. Orger does not go beyond a just measure of the facts when he describes Mr. Bailey's long. strenuous, God-fearing, zealous life as full of compassion to those that are far off, bountiful and devout.

Further Reminiscences. By H. M. HYNDMAN. (Macmillan. 1912.) 15s. net.

THE reviewers who praised Mr. Hyndman's first volume of 'Reminiscences' and the readers who were thereby induced to buy them are held responsible by the author for this further instalment of more than five hundred pages, in which Mr. Hyndman's remarks on events and persons are brought up to date. Mr. Hyndman is well known as a Socialist and as a Marxian, and he speaks with a great deal of frank bitterness about those who do not agree with him, whether they are living or dead. In the course of twenty-three chapters he includes vigorous expressions of opinion on Mrs. Besant and Lady Warwick, Michael Davitt, Bernard Shaw, W. T. Stead, Walter Crane, Robert Blatchford, and Mr. Labouchere; and again on international socialist congresses, the South African war, the Labour Parties, Russia, Germany, and the United States, strikes and Country Life. The mantle of bitterness is cast over all the good things in the book. Even Mr. Lloyd George does not escape criticism.

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Map.

Map.

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La Simulation du merveilleux.'

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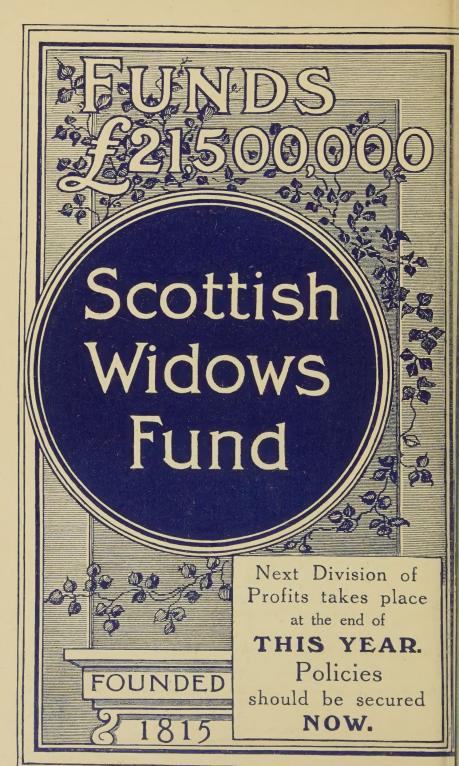
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